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L. IUNI MODERATI COLUMELLAE REI RUSTICAE LIBER DECIMUS: *DE CULTU HORTORUM*

TEXT, CRITICAL APPARATUS, TRANSLATION, AND COMMENTARY

A THESIS
IN LATIN
PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

HARRISON BOYD ASH

PHILADELPHIA
1930

ERRATA

Page 9, note 1: Beroaldus for Beroaldus:
Page 38, note 23, *fin.*: colon for period.
Page 64, note 129: etc. omitted after *vesperi*.
Page 93, note 264: comma for period.
Page 102, note 317: *Lingua* for *Linguae*.

PREFACE

My acquaintance with the much neglected works of Columella began some ten years ago, when I prepared an edition and translation of the *De Cultu Hortorum*, in typewritten form, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts at Syracuse University. The present volume, which will remedy, I hope, some of the defects of the earlier attempt, is an outgrowth of continued interest and further study in the works of Columella and other ancient writers on agriculture.

The text of the poem is that of Lundström, as before, with a few orthographical, textual, and punctuative changes. There are added a Critical Apparatus, necessarily taken for the most part at second hand, and an Index. The Introduction is almost entirely new. The translation has been revised and considerably altered. The notes, which obviously owe much to earlier commentators, have been rewritten and greatly augmented.

In the preparation of the first edition I owe a debt of gratitude to the members of the Latin Department of Syracuse University during the years 1920–22, and especially to Professor Curtis C. Bushnell, under whose guidance the work was largely done. In the revision and enlargement of the work I express my sincere thanks to Professor John C. Rolfe, Professor Walton B. McDaniel, Professor Roland G. Kent, Professor George D. Hadzsits, Professor Harry B. Van Deventer, Professor Edward H. Heffner, and Professor Robert B. Burke, all of the University of Pennsylvania, for their kindly criticism and advice freely given during the preparation of this edition. I am indebted to Professor Axel J. Uppvall, of the Department of Germanic Languages of the same university, for the translation of important articles in Swedish. Grateful acknowledgment must be made, also, of the permission of the Trustees of The Pierpont Morgan Library to include in my critical apparatus the readings of the Morgan manuscript of Columella, and to Miss Belle da Costa Greene, Directress of that Library, for courtesies shown me during my study of the manuscript.

H. B. A.

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INTRODUCTION

Life of Columella

Our knowledge[1] of the personal history of Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella, and of the dates of his writings, must be derived almost entirely by conjecture from those incidental references which he makes to himself and his contemporaries here and there in his works. From these sources we learn that he was a native of Gades,[2] a Roman *municipium* of the province of Baetica in southern Spain; and although the date of his birth is unknown, it is obvious that it occurred near the end of the reign of Augustus or in the early part of the rule of Tiberius.

Columella defines his time loosely by mentioning that Marcus Varro (*c.* 116–27 B. C.) was a contemporary of his grandfather.[3] His time is more clearly indicated in a reference to Seneca[4] as living in his day; so, too, he speaks of Cornelius Celsus[5] (*fl.* first cent. of the Christian era) as a contemporary. He also quotes

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[1] Biographers have added but little to the facts first deduced by Beroaldus Gaditanus fuit, id quod conjicere licet ex lib. quinti cap. quinto, cum ait: M. quidem Columella patruus, etc., item lib. septimo, cap. II, ubi ait: Nam cum in municipium Gaditanum, etc., item lib. octavo, cap. decimo sexto, ubi est: Ut atlantico faber qui generosissimis piscibus adnumerantur in nostro Gadium municipio, etc., item lib. X de lactuca hoc versu: Et mea quam generant Tartesi littore Gades. Vixit Claudii imp. temporibus, id quod conjiciatur ex lib. III, cap. III, ubi Senecae, eiusque vinearum, et Nomentanae meminit regionis, Corn. Celsi coaetaneus, cuius non sine honoris praefatione, animique candore saepius mentionem facit. Scripsit XII de re rustica libros (de eo autem qui est de Arboribus ambigitur) non minus docte quam diligenter. Librum item lustrationum sacrificiorumque priscorum pro frugibus: cuius meminit lib. III, cap. XXII. Libros quoque adversus astrologos et Chaldeos; quos se profitetur composuisse, lib. XI, cap. I. Hactenus quod astruere possumus. (Philippi Beroaldi in libros XIII Columellae annotationes, p. 1. Lugduni, 1541. Apud Barbaret, *De Columellae Vita et Scriptis*, p. 9).

[2] 8.19.9 in nostro Gaditano municipio; 10.185 mea, quam generant Tartesi litore Gades.

[3] 1. *praef.* 15 sicut M. Varro iam temporibus avorum conquestus est.

[4] 3.3.3 Sed Nomentana regio nunc celeberrima fama est illustris, et praecipue quam possidet Seneca, vir excellentis ingenii atque doctrinae, cuius in praediis vinearum iugera singula culleos octonos reddidisse plerumque, compertum est.

[5] 1.1.14 Non minorem tamen laudem meruerunt nostrorum temporum viri, Cornelius Celsus, et Iulius Atticus, quippe Cornelius totum corpus disciplinae quinque libris complexus est; 3.17.4 Mox Iulius Atticus, et Cornelius Celsus aetatis nostrae celeberrimi auctores; 3.2.31 quod et Celsus ait, et ante eum M. Cato; 3.1.8; 4.1.1.

as authorities of his time several others of whom we have definite knowledge, as Trebellius,[6] Graecinus,[7] Julius Atticus,[8] Volusius,[9] and Gallio.[10] From these and other references[11] we gather that Columella was living during the time of Lucius Annaeus Seneca (*c.* 4 B. C.–A. D. 65) and Pliny the Elder (23–79), by whom he is quoted, and that he was of about the same age as the former and several years older than the latter. We have reason to believe, from the conclusion of Bk. XII,[12] that he completed his work at an advanced age.[13]

The parents of Columella are named nowhere in his works, but he speaks often and in the highest terms[14] of an uncle, Marcus

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[6] 5.1.2 ut proxime, cum de commetiendis agris rationem M. Trebellius noster a me requireret. M. Trebellius, the *legatus* of Vitellius (Tac. *Ann.* 6.41.1), was governor of Syria in A. D. 36.

[7] 1.1.14 Cuius (Corneli Celsi) velut discipulus duo volumina similium praeceptorum de vineis Iulius Graecinus composita facetius et eruditius posteritati tradenda curavit; 4.3.6 idem Graecinus declarat eo libro, quem de vineis scripsit. Reitzenstein (*De Scriptorum Rei Rusticae Libris Deperditis*, p. 41) says that Graecinus was put to death in 39 or 40.

[8] 4.8.1 ut prodit Celsus, et Atticus, quos in re rustica maxime nostra aetas probavit; 4.1.1 quam Celsus et Atticus prodiderant. Nothing more is known of Julius Atticus than is found in Columella's scattered references to him as a contemporary of Celsus. Reitzenstein (p. 27) concludes from this evidence that he was somewhat older than Celsus and that he wrote in the time of Tiberius.

[9] 1.7.3 Sed et ipse nostra memoria veterem consularem, virumque opulentissimum L. Volusium asseverantem audivi. The Lucius Volusius mentioned by Pliny (*N. H.* 7.49), who died in A. D. 56 at the age of 93. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 13.30, 14.56.

[10] 9.16.2 Gallioni nostro. Gallio, brother of the younger Seneca, died in A. D. 65.

[11] Collected by Reitzenstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 52f.

[12] 12.59.5 nec tamen canis natura dedit cunctarum rerum prudentiam. Nam etiam quicunque sunt habiti mortalium sapientissimi, multa scisse dicuntur, non omnia.

[13] Reitzenstein (p. 31; cf. Becher, *De L. J. M. Col. Vita et Scriptis*, p. 11) inclines to the view that the works of Columella appeared in the year 64, and certainly not before 61, basing his argument on the late date of Seneca's ownership of the Nomentan farm (see note 4, *supra*), which, as Pliny writes (*N. H.* 14.45, 49) in A. D. 77, was bought by Remmius Palaemon *in hisce viginti annis* and sold to Seneca within ten years. Häussner (*Die handschriftliche Überlieferung des . . . Columella*, p. 7), carrying the question farther, places the date of Seneca's purchase in 62 or 63, the composition of Columella's third book between that date and the year of Seneca's death (65), and the publication of the whole work after 65.

[14] 2.15.4 quod M. Columellam patruum meum doctissimum et diligentissimum agricolam saepenumero usurpasse memoria repeto; 5.5.15 M. quidem Columella patruus meus, vir illustribus disciplinis eruditus ac diligentissimus agricola Beticae provinciae; 7.2.4 M. Columella patruus meus acris vir ingenii, atque illustris agricola; 12.21.4; 12.40.2; 12.43.5; *et al.*

Columella, in whose company much of his youth appears to have been spent. The uncle was a progressive farmer of the Baetic province, expert in the management alike of fields, of vineyards, and of flocks, with a fondness for experimentation.[15] Since the youth of Columella was molded by the teachings of such a man, it is not surprising that he had throughout his life a love of the country and of agricultural pursuits.

The greater part of his schooling seems to have been obtained in the neighborhood of Rome, as is evidenced by the Roman character of his writings and a style unlike that of the Spanish school. Here too, *in hoc Latio et Saturnia terra*,[16] he seems to have spent most of his life, owning at various times farms at Carseoli, Ardea, and Albanum, in Latium,[17] and a farm which he called *Ceretanum*,[18] located perhaps at Caere in Etruria—all within easy reach of the city. We have evidence[19] that he visited Syria and Cilicia at some period in his life, and, from an inscription[20]

L. IVNIO. L. F. GAL
MODERATO
COLUMELLAE
TRIB. MIL. LEG. VI FERRATAE

found at Tarentum we may assume that he was then in military service, since his native town of Gades belonged to the *tribus Galeria*, which furnished troops for the *LEGIO VI FERRATA*, stationed at that time in Syria.[21] From this inscription it is

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[15] E.g. the mixing of clay in sandy places, and of sand in places too rich in clay, whence came a double advantage since *ita non solum segetes laetas excitaret, verum etiam pulcherrimas vineas efficeret* (2.15.4).

[16] 1. *praef.* 20; cf. 3.2.30 in hac ipsa Italia.

[17] 3.9.2 Id autem cum sit verisimile, tum etiam verum esse docuit experimentum, cum et in Ardeatino agro, quem multis temporibus ante possedimus, et in Carseolano, itemque in Albano.

[18] 3.3.3. Nam illa videntur . . . in nostris Ceretanis accidisse. Schneider (*Script. Rei Rust. Vet. Lat.*) would locate this farm in Sardinia. See his note *ad loc.*, and p. 3 of his Preface to Vol. 2.2.

[19] 2.10.18 Sed hoc quidem semen Ciliciae Syriaeque regionibus ipse vidi mense Iunio Iulioque conseri, et per autumnum cum permaturuerit, tolli. Perhaps in A. D. 36; see Cichorius, *Röm. Stud.* (1922), pp. 417–422.

[20] *C. I. L.* IX. 235.

[21] The legion was stationed in Syria in A. D. 23 and remained there during the rule of Tiberius. See H. M. D. Parker, *The Roman Legions* (Oxford, 1928), pp. 119, 129, 267.

generally believed that Columella died and was buried at Tarentum.

His Works

Columella is known to us by his twelve books on agriculture and the book *De Arboribus*. Cassiodorus,[22] however, mentions sixteen books, a number thought by some[23] to have been due to an error of transcription but defended by others[24], who hold the opinion that the larger work is an expansion of an earlier collection of three or four[25] books on the same subject, of which the *De Arboribus* alone has survived. This view is supported by the fact that the book on trees treats of the same subjects that are discussed at greater length in Books 3–5 of the *Res Rustica*. We find allusions also to a work *Adversus Astrologos*[26] and to a treatise proposed, but possibly not written, on the religious ceremonies connected with agriculture.[27] The manuscripts from which Columella was first printed inserted the *De Arboribus* as the third book of the whole work, so that the book now regarded as the third is marked in the earliest editions as the fourth, and so on.[28]

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[22] *Div. Lect.* 28 sed Columella xvi libris per diversas agriculturae species eloquens ac facundus illabitur, disertis potius quam imperitis accomodus, ut operis eius studiosi non solum communi fructu, sed etiam gratissimis epulis expleantur.

[23] Becher, p. 58; Teuffel, *Gesch. der röm. Lit.* 2.293.

[24] Gesner, *Scriptores Rei Rusticae*, Introd. p. 9; Häussner, p. 7; cf. Becher, p. 29.

[25] Four books of the earlier work is the number generally assumed from the figures of Cassiodorus and from Columella's statement (*De Arb.* 1.1): Quoniam de cultu agrorum abunde primo volumine praecepisse videmur, non intempestiva erit arborum virgultorumque cura. There is a possibility, also, that the book on astrologers is included by Cassiodorus. See Häussner, pp. 7–8.

[26] 11.1.31 Contra quam obseruationem multis argumentationibus disseruisse me non infitior in iis libris, quos aduersus astrologos composueram.

[27] 2.21.5–6 Hoc loco certum habeo quosdam cum solemnia festorum percensuerim, desideraturos lustrationum caeterorumque sacrificiorum, quae pro frugibus fiunt, morem priscis usurpatum. Nec ego abnuo docendi curam: sed differo in eum librum, quem componere in animo est, cum agricolationis totam disciplinam perscripsero.

[28] That the book on trees does not belong to the larger work appears from Columella's statement (10. *praef.* 1): nam superioribus nouem libris . . . debitum . . . reddideram; and from the fact that it is not addressed to

The *Res Rustica*, addressed to a certain Silvinus, is the most comprehensive and systematic of all treatises of Roman writers on agricultural affairs. The first book contains general directions regarding the choice of land, the water supply, the arrangement of farm buildings, and the distribution of various tasks among the farm staff. The second deals with agriculture proper, the plowing and enrichment of the soil, and the care of various crops. The third, fourth, and fifth books are devoted to the cultivation, grafting, and pruning of fruit trees and shrubs, the vine and the olive. The sixth contains instructions for selecting, breeding, and rearing cattle, horses, and mules, together with a discourse on veterinary medicine. The seventh continues the subject with reference to smaller domestic animals, sheep, goats, swine, and dogs. The eighth has to do with the management of poultry and fish-ponds. The ninth treats similarly of bees. The tenth, in hexameters, deals with gardening. It is evident from a statement in the preface to the whole work, as well as from the conclusion of Book IX and the preface of Book X,[29] that the tenth book was planned as the culmination of the work; but at the still insistent urgings of Silvinus[30] there was added an eleventh book containing a discussion of the duties of a *vilicus*, a *Calendarium Rusticum*, in which the times and seasons for various kinds of farm labor are fixed in connection with the risings and settings of the stars, and a long chapter

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Silvinus, as are the other twelve. Iucundus, editor of the Aldine edition (1514), was the first to place the *De Arboribus* at the end, as a thirteenth book, and all later editors have followed his example. See Schneider, Vol. 2.2, pp. 4–5, 672.

[29] Cf. 1. *praef.* 25–28, and the last sentence of Bk. 9: Sed iam consummata disputatione de villaticis pecudibus, atque pastionibus, quae reliqua nobis rusticarum rerum pars superest, de cultu hortorum, Publi Siluine, deinceps ita, ut et tibi et Gallioni nostro complacuerat, in carmen conferemus; and the opening lines of Bk.10, *praef.* 1: Faenoris tui, Siluine, quod stipulanti spoponderam tibi, reliquam pensiunculam percipe. Nam superioribus nouem libris hac minus parte debitum, quod nunc persoluo, reddideram. Cf. also 11.1.2, next note.

[30] 11.1.2 Sed tibi, Publi Siluine, pertinaciter expetenti versificationis nostrae gustum, negare non sustinebam, facturus mox, si collibuisset, quod nunc aggredior, ut olitoris curam subtexerem villici officiis: quae quamuis primo rei rusticae libro videbar aliquatenus executus; quoniam tamen ea simili desiderio noster Augustalis saepius flagitabat, numerum, quem iam quasi consummaueram, voluminum excessi, et hoc undecimum praeceptum rusticationis memoriae tradidi.

on gardening to supplement the treatise in verse. The twelfth book, containing recipes for the manufacture of various kinds of wine and for the pickling and preserving of vegetables and fruits, seems to have been added as an afterthought. The twelve books have come down to us in the order written, as appears from their regular prefaces. That they were sent to Silvinus as they were completed, one after another, is indicated by the fact that the opening lines often contain some reference to observations made on former books.[31]

The *De Arboribus*, thought to have been addressed to Eprius Marcellus,[32] deals with the cultivation and propagation of the vine, the olive, and various trees, and, while its subject matter is treated more fully in the *Res Rustica*, the work is still of considerable interest and value in that it throws some light on the larger and later work, especially on the fifth book, which is very corrupt in many of the manuscripts.

His Sources

As sources for his agricultural treatise Columella names, at the beginning of the work,[33] all known writers on the subject from earliest times up to his own day. Beginning with the Greeks, he heads the list with that *celeberrimus vates*, Hesiod of Boeotia; then come Democritus of Abdera, Xenophon Socraticus, Archytas of Tarentum, Aristotle and Theophrastus—*Peripatetici magister et discipulus*, Mago the Carthaginian with his translator Dionysius of Utica, Diodorus, and many others of whom we have now merely the names. Coming to Roman

[31] E.g. 2.1.1 Quaeris ex me, Publi Siluine, . . . cur priore libro veterem opinionem . . . repulerim; 4.1.1 Cum de vineis conserendis librum a me scriptum, Publi Siluine, compluribus agricolationis studiosis relegisses, quosdam repertos esse ais; 5.1.1 Superioribus libris . . . nonnulla defuisse dixisti; 12.1.1 ut institutum ordinem teneamus, quem priore volumine inchoauimus. See Schneider's commentary, Vol. 2.2, p. 672.

[32] This supposition seems to have resulted from a colophon, noted by Gesner, containing the words: Praeter hos XII libros singularis eius liber ad Eprium Marcellum. See Schneider, Vol. 2.2, pp. 672–673, and, for the critical value of *De Arb.*, *id.*, p. 4.

[33] 1.1.6–14. The list bears a strong resemblance to Varro's enumeration of writers on agriculture, *Rust.* 1.1.8–10.

writers he first names Cato the Censor, *qui eam (agricolationem) Latine loqui primum instituit;* then follow the two Sasernae,[34] father and son, Tremellius Scrofa, Marcus Terentius Varro, and Vergil *qui carmine quoque potentem agricolationem fecit.* The list closes with mention of Hyginus, Mago, Cornelius Celsus, Julius Atticus, and Julius Graecinus.

Even a hasty examination of the *Res Rustica* will reveal Columella's familiarity with a majority of these sources, whose authorship of various precepts he rarely fails to mention.[35] Cicero is often cited,[36] and the astronomer Hipparchus is mentioned at least three times. We find two direct quotations from Hesiod,[37] and an attentive student of the *vetustissimus auctor* would doubtless discover many points of similarity in a careful reading of the entire work; to me it appears that Columella's indebtedness to Hesiod is an indirect one through Vergil. It is Vergil, however, whom he takes as his chief authority, citing him on many a page in quotations introduced by such expressions as *ut prodit Maro*, *auctoritate divini carminis*, *ut ait poeta*, *sicut noster memorat poeta*, *Georgicum carmen affirmat*, and *ut Bucolicon loquitur poema*.[38] So in the use of the formulae with which he introduces the divisions of his subject—*Principio*, *Praeterea*, *Nunc age*, *Quod superest*—he is imitating Vergil, who is, in turn, indebted to Lucretius.

These authorities should be consulted, he tells Silvinus,[39]

[34] Our meager knowledge of the lives and works of writers on the subject (Varro excepted) between the time of Cato and that of Columella is summed up by Reitzenstein in his dissertation, *De Scriptorum Rei Rusticae Libris Deperditis* (Berlin, 1884).

[35] To cite only a few of the innumerable instances of such recognition of sources, we find mention of Democritus in 3.12.5, 6.28; Cato, 1.2.2, 1.3.5, 1.3.1, 2.17.2, 6. *praef.* 4; Varro, 1. *praef.* 15, 8.11.6; Mago, 1.1.18, 3.12.5, 4.10.1; Celsus, 2.9.11, 3.2.8, 3.2.25, 3.17.4, 4.10.1; Tremellius Scrofa, 2.10.8, 3.12.5; Graecinus, 3.8.2, 3.12.1; Hyginus, 9.14.18; Julius Atticus, 3.17.4, 4.10.1.

[36] 11.1.5 Itaque in Oeconomico Xenophontis, quem M. Cicero Latino sermoni tradidit; 1. *praef.* 29, 3.8.2, 12. *praef.* 7, 12.2.6.

[37] 11.1.29 vetustissimus auctor Hesiodus hoc versu significavit: Αἰεὶ δ' ἀμβολιεργὸς ἀνὴρ ἄταισι παλαίει. (*Works and Days* 413); 1.3.6 (*Works and Days* 348).

[38] E. g. 2.10.11 (*Georg.* 1.195), 2.22.1 (*Georg.* 1.268–272), 3.1.9 (*Georg.* 2.238–240), 3.10.18 (*Georg.* 4.192), 5.5.7 (*Georg.* 1.53), 7.3.23 (*Georg.* 3.324f.), 7.5.5 (*Georg.* 3.441), 7.10.8 (*Ecl.* 7.54), 11.1.31 (*Georg.* 1.204).

[39] 1.1.15ff.

before one attempts to gain a living from the soil. Yet the reading of books alone may instruct, but does not make, the farmer. Practice and experience are the first essentials in any art or science; and there is no occupation in which something may not be learned from past mistakes. His own writings, he continues, do not aim to be the last word in agricultural science but merely to contribute something in that direction; and no one should think that he will master the subject of agriculture by a reading of these precepts unless he also has the desire and the opportunity to put them into practice.

Style. Influence

The works of Columella are generally commended for their straightforward, simple diction.[40] Throughout his works he appears as a well-educated farmer of wide experience, with a thorough knowledge of his literary predecessors and a genuine enthusiasm for his task. As he often deplores the artificiality of his age and extols the simplicity of former times,[41] so in his writings he emulates not his contemporaries but men of earlier days, especially Cicero and Vergil. It is true that he often departs from the practice of the Golden Age in matters of syntactical arrangement, and his works contain other traces of the Silver Age, in that he sometimes employs poetic phraseology in his prose writings.[42] There is, however, a noticeable scarcity of the

[40] Cf., e.g., Kottmann, *De Elocutione L. Iunii Moderati Columellae, Praef.*: Si quae studia philologi ad perscrutandam singulorum scriptorum Romanorum elocutionem contulerint conspiciemus, manifesto deprehendemus vix ullius scriptoris monumenta minus esse tractata quam Columellae, quod sane valde mirandum est, quippe cum et genus dicendi exhibeat haud iniucundum et iis, quae de re rustica disseruit, sine dubio princeps scriptorum rei rusticae evaserit.

[41] 1. *praef.* 15 Omnes enim (sicut M. Varro iam temporibus auorum conquestus est) patresfamiliae falce et aratro relictis intra murum correpsimus, et in circis potius ac theatris, quam in segetibus et vinetis manus mouemus; 1. *praef.* 14 intelligo luxuriae et deliciis nostris pristinum morem virilemque vitam displicuisse; 12. *praef.* 9 Nunc vero cum pleraeque sic luxu et inertia diffluant, ut ne lanificii quidem curam suscipere dignentur; 10. *praef.* 2.

[42] E.g. 2.2.23 terrae summam partem leui vomere sauciant; 3.21.3 alma tellus annua vice velut aeterno quodam puerperio laeta mortalibus distenta musto demittit ubera.

high-sounding rhetoric of his day.[43] His prefaces, especially, serve as good specimens of smooth and polished diction not unworthy of the best writers of Latin.

Columella's works attracted immediate and lasting attention. He is praised by his contemporary Pliny[44] among his authorities for his work on natural history, and is quoted by him in various places.[45] The veterinarian Pelagonius, who wrote before the time of Vegetius, often quotes verbatim precepts from Columella's sixth book;[46] so also Eumelus, a Greek writer on the veterinary art.[47] Vegetius praises his *facultas dicendi*.[48] He is much quoted by Palladius,[49] who seems also to have been inspired by Columella's example to write his last book, *De Insitione*, in verse. Cassiodorus[50] mentions him as one of the outstanding writers on agriculture, as also does Isidore[51] in the seventh century. The *Hortulus* of Walafrid Strabo (b. 806 or 807), in 443 hexameters, may owe something to Columella's *De Cultu Hortorum*.[52] We find him praised in the sixteenth century in an epigram of Theodore Beza,[53] and in the next century Milton, in his short treatise *On Education*, would have the students of his ideal school devote their thoughts, "after evening

[43] Barbaret, *op. cit.*, p. 47: quam maxime discrepat ab omnibus suae aetatis scriptoribus, ut nemini ex oratione tantum conicienti occurrere possit, eum iisdem temporibus quibus Seneca nec multis ante Plinium et Tacitum Latinitatis eam speciem edidisse.

[44] *N. H.* 15.17–19.

[45] E.g. *N. H.* 8.153, 15.66, 17.51–52, 137, 162, 18.70, 303, 19.68.

[46] Ihm lists seventeen parallel passages in the index of his Teubner edition of Pelagonius, p. 241.

[47] Ihm, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[48] *Ars Veterinaria, Praef.* 2.

[49] Becher (*op. cit.*, p. 55) finds 25 such citations.

[50] *Div. Lect.* 28.

[51] *Orig.* 17.1.1 apud Romanos de agricultura primum Cato instituit, quem deinde M. Terentius expolivit, mox Vergilius laude carminum extulit. Nec minus studium habuerunt postmodum Cornelius Celsus et Iulius Atticus, Aemilianus sive Columella, insignis orator, qui totum corpus disciplinae eiusdem complexus est.

[52] On Columella in the Middle Ages, see M. Manitius in *Philologus* 48, p. 566.

[53]
Orpha mirata est Rhodope sua fata canentem,
  si modo Virgilii carmina pondus habent.
Tu vero, Juni, silvestris rura canendo
  post te ipsas urbes in tua rura trahis.
O superi, quales habuit tunc Roma Quirites,
  quum tam iucundum cerneret agricolam.

repast till bed-time," first to the Scriptures and next to "the authors of agriculture, Cato, Varro, and Columella, for the matter is most easy; and if the language is difficult, so much the better. Here will be an occasion of inciting and enabling them hereafter to improve the tillage of their country, to recover bad soil," etc.

The Tenth Book

The tenth book of the *Res Rustica* may be regarded as perhaps the most interesting of Columella's works, in that it is a departure from his usual prose style and a humble attempt to fit to poetic measures, in imitation of Vergil, so unpoetic a theme as that of gardening. The author gives as the reason for his metrical experiment the resolve to satisfy the requests of Gallio and of Silvinus for "a taste of metrical composition."[54] But the deeper and more potent motive was his desire to complete what Vergil had left unfinished; for that poet had said in his fourth *Georgic* (116–119):

"And indeed, were I not just furling my sails at the end of my toilsome journey, and hastening to turn my prow to land, perhaps I might sing both what methods of culture would adorn rich gardens, and the rose-beds of twice-blooming Paestum."[55] and a few lines farther (147–148):

"But these I for my part must pass over, prevented by limited space, and leave them to be taken up by others after me."

Inspired, then, by the words of Vergil, and urged by Silvinus, he made the attempt "to complete, in poetic measures, the omitted portions of the *Georgics* which even Vergil himself expressly stated he was leaving to be told by his successors." "For on no other condition," he adds, "than out of a desire to pay highest homage to the poet would I have made this venture."[56]

In undertaking the writing of a poem as a supplement to the *Georgics*, Columella was necessarily a thorough student of Vergil

[54] 9.16.2, 11.1.2.
[55] Bryce's translation.
[56] 10. *praef.* 3.

and a careful imitator of the great poet's general treatment of his subject. It is true that the poem contains echoes of other writers. There is in our author's address to the "Pierian Muses" (40), a reminiscence of Hesiod's invocation, at the beginning of the *Works and Days*, of the "Muses of Pieria, who glorify with song." He may be said to follow the *Works and Days*, at least indirectly through his avowed model, in his fixing of the times and seasons of the farmer's labors by the rising and setting of some star, the time of the sun's passing the solstices, or the migration of birds. In the same connection there are many traces of Ovid's *Fasti*. In other places, too, are found marks of Ovid's influence, the connection usually being one of suggestion rather than pure quotation and occurring, for the most part, in reference to fables told in the *Metamorphoses*. But it is Vergil's influence, in word, in spirit, and even in the arrangement of material,[57] that is everywhere apparent and frankly admitted.[58] Because of the similarity of their themes we find the greatest number of borrowings from the *Georgics*, yet there are also in the *De Cultu Hortorum* many traces of the *Bucolics* and of the *Aeneid*.[59] This appropriation of the structural elements of the poem has obscured to all except the more observant critics[60] some bits of meritorious poetry, imitative perhaps in phraseology, but original in manner of treatment.[61] It may be said in

[57] Schroeter (*De Columella Vergilii Imitatore*, pp. 7–8) has pointed out interesting parallels of arrangement and content between the first hundred lines, approximately, of Columella's poem and the same number of lines at the beginning of the *Georgics*.
[58] 10. *praef.* 3, 10.433–434.
[59] It appears improbable that Columella, in the preparation of material for his poem, had jotted down a list of Vergilian phrases to be scattered here and there through his work. Rather he seems to have been so saturated with Vergil's style, vocabulary, and spirit that he sprinkled through his writings, from memory, many things Vergilian. Cf. Ribbeck, *Proleg. ad Verg.* p. 201: (Columella) mutato ut libuit ordine accommodavit orationi frustula poetae, qualia fere in mente haerebat, non descripsit accurate bono ex codice. But cf. Becher, p. 48f.
[60] E.g. the study of Schroeter.
[61] It seems to me that we have a rather good transition in the few lines following 67, where the poet recalls himself from one of his flights of fancy to the more difficult task of giving directions for the preparation of the soil. In 96f. there is a pleasing description of the gladdening of the earth with many brightly colored flowers—"terrestrial stars." The noiseless flight of time, though a hackneyed theme, is well handled in 159–160.

general, however, that Columella was content to follow humbly in the steps of Vergil.

The grammar and diction of the poem present few, if any, deviations from classical usage. Constructions uncommon in the best prose are treated in the notes. It may be of service, however, to summarize the less common usages, remembering that these are characteristics and not peculiarities:

(a) The infinitive is used with verbs which are usually followed by an *ut*-clause with the subjunctive: *moneo inducere*, 143; *decumbere suadet*, 283.

Conversely, we find *ut* and the subjunctive where an infinitive might be expected: *iubet claudamus ut hortos*, 424.

(b) Prohibition is expressed by *ne* with the imperative: *ne parcite*, 58; *ne dubita*, 73.

(c) The use of the future participle to denote destiny, etc.: *uinctura*, 104; *iutura*, 121; *factura*, 122; *deletura*, 125.

(d) The genitive denoting separation in imitation of the Greek construction: *capitis uiduata*, 335.

(e) The common use of diminutive forms of adjectives and nouns, some of them found only here: e. g. *pensiunculam*, *Praef.* 2; *lactucula*, 111; *murteolo*, 238; *flammeola*, 307; *paruulus*, 321; *areolas*, 362; *hamula*, 387; *fiscella*, 402; *cereolis*, 404.

(f) The employment of Greek names for plants and insects as being more expressive of their nature, or for metrical convenience: e. g. *paliuron*, 22; *moloche*, 247; *bryonias*, 250; *campe*, 324, 366; *gongylis*, 421; *bunias*, 422.

(g) Adjectives used to denote the result produced: *maestamque cicutam*, 20; *lacrimosaque caepa*, 123.

(h) The colloquial use of the pronoun of the second person: e. g. *tu . . . tu*, 71–72, 165, 192–193; *tu*, 298; *uos*, 303.

The usual figures of grammar and rhetoric are found, e. g.:

(a) Anaphora: *candida uibrato discrimine, candida thyrso est*, 186; *omnia plena iocis, securo plena cachinno, plena mero*, 280–281; *per . . . per . . . per . . . per*, 221–222; *quae . . . quae . . . quae . . . et quae*, 265–268.

(b) Chiasmus: *nec patitur taxos nec strenua toxica sudat*, 18; *altera crebra uiret, fusco nitet altera crine*, 181.

(c) Litotes: *putei non sede profunda*, 25; *non aliter quam*, 364.

(d) Metonymy: *genus Bacchi*, 38; *Titan*, 42; *Phoebus tener*, 283; *infestae Baccho . . . uolucres*, 332; *Bacchoue lagoenam*, 387; *Gnosius ardor*, 52.

(e) Synchysis: *semihominis uesano gramine . . . mandragorae*, 19–20; *mitis adoptatis . . . frugibus arbos*, 39; *Ista Prometheae genetrix fuit altera cretae*, 59.

(f) Rhetorical question: *Sed quid ego . . . sublimi tramite raptor?* 215–216.

(g) Metaphors are numerous, the most notable and sustained figure being that of the springing of plants from the earth as offspring of a mother's womb. In this connection we find the earth called *mater* (58, 163, 194, 195), *parens* (164, 257), and *genetrix* (59, 161, 207). When the seeds have been sown in mother earth, she is called *grauida* (141). The figure is continued when the plants burst forth from the earth; here we have *enitor* (e. g. 162), and in 146 the plants spring from *materno aruo*. The offspring thus produced is called *proles* (214), *partus* (144, 162), *progenies* (165), *suboles* (146, 213, 385).

The meter runs along smoothly and not without melody. Metrical licenses are few:

(a) Spondaic verse: *ille suam Tethyn, hic polluit Amphitriten*, 201.

(b) Synizesis: in *parietibus*, 27.

Manuscripts. Editions. Translations

The text of Columella is transmitted through some twenty manuscripts, two of which belong to the ninth or tenth century and the rest to the fifteenth. The oldest is the *Codex Sangermanensis* (= **S**), now *Petropolitanus Mscr. Lat.* 1, written, apparently at Corbie, in a French hand of the ninth century and taken with a large collection of Corbie manuscripts to the Abbey of St. Germain des Prés in Paris during the first half of the seventeenth century. Here it remained until the time of the French Revolution, when it was secured by the Russian envoy Debrowsky and removed with many other valuable manuscripts to the Imperial Library in Petrograd. Of nearly

the same age (9th–10th cent.) and closely related to **S** is the *Codex Ambrosianus L 85 sup.* (= **A**) in Milan, written in the German Insular hand, probably at Fulda. The numerous fifteenth-century manuscripts, known collectively as **R**, are all related and descended, directly or indirectly, from an ancient manuscript found by Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459) and taken by him to Italy. These later copies, because of their different line of descent, are often of considerable value for the establishment of the text. Häussner[62] has discussed the critical worth of several of these for the tenth book. Lundström, who has gone farther in collating several of the prose works and can therefore rate the manuscripts more safely, regards **a, b, c, d, m, q, s** and μ as the best of this class.[63] The *Codex Mosquensis* (= μ), seen by Matthaei[64] in the library of the Demidoffs in Moscow but destroyed by fire in 1812, seems also to have been a member of the Poggio family written in the fifteenth century. Of the other late manuscripts noted by Lundström, many are so interpolated as to be of little critical worth. With the kind permission of the Board of Trustees of The Pierpont Morgan Library, in New York City, I have been enabled to collate the tenth (11th) book of the Columella manuscript (= **M**) in the possession of that library and to include its readings in my *apparatus criticus.* This codex, No. 139 of the Morgan Collection and formerly No. 184 of the Hamilton Collection, containing all the extant works of Columella, is a beautiful piece of Roman writing from the pen of Henriettus Ruffinus de Murialdo, signed and dated by that scribe in the year 1469.

That **S** and **A** are derived from the same archetype is generally agreed. It is more difficult, however, to determine the relation-

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[62] *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung des L. Junius Moderatus Columella, mit einer kritischen Ausgabe des X. Buches,* Karlsruhe, 1889, pp. 9–22.
[63] "Ein Columella-Excerptor aus dem 15. Jahrhundert." *Skrifter utgifna af Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Upsala,* 3.6.11, Upsala, 1894; *L. Iuni Moderati Columellae Opera Quae Exstant,* Fasciculus Primus Librum De Arboribus Continens, Upsala, 1897, Praef. viii–x.
[64] The readings of μ are preserved in C. F. Matthaei, *Lectiones Mosquenses,* 1.80f, Leipzig, 1779.

ship of **R** to **S** and **A**. Van Buren[65] thinks the **R** family to be descended from **A**, to which they often bear close resemblance when **S** and **A** differ. The most recent and thorough treatment of the manuscript tradition is that of Sobel,[66] who establishes with greatest care the relation of each group of manuscripts and by a series of lost archetypes connects **S** and **A** with **R**, deriving them all from a common ancestor written after the fifth century (= β in Sobel's stemma, p. 15).

Columella's works were edited many times in the century following the introduction of printing, usually in collections of some or all of the chief Latin writers on agriculture (Cato, Varro, Columella, Palladius, Vegetius).[67] The *editio princeps* was printed at Venice by Nicolas Jenson, in 1472, in a collection of *Rei Rusticae Scriptores.* The first Aldine edition of the Veronese architect, Iucundus, appeared at Venice in 1514 and was of considerable value in establishing the text and numerical arrangement.[68] The most noteworthy annotated editions of the complete works are found in Gesner's *Scriptores Rei Rusticae Veteres Latini* (1735), reprinted by Ernesti in 1773 with a collation of the Sangermanensis Ms.; and in the *Scriptores Rei Rusticae Veteres Latini* of J. G. Schneider (1794), which takes account of all earlier works and is in every respect the most valuable. No complete edition of Columella based on a new study of the manuscripts has appeared, although Lundström has made a notable start in that direction in his textual editions of the book *De Arboribus* and the first, second, tenth, and eleventh books of the *Res Rustica.*[69] The tenth book has been included in a few annotated editions of *Poetae Latini Minores,* of which Wernsdorf's (1794), reproduced with few changes in Lemaire's recension (Bibliotheca Classica Latina, Vol. VII, Paris, 1826), is the

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[65] "The Text of Columella," *Supplementary Papers of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome,* Vol. 1, pp. 189–190.
[66] *Studia Columelliana Palaeographica et Critica,* Diss. Göteburg, 1928.
[67] For a full account of the early editions, see Schneider's edition, Vol. 2.2, pp. 5–15, and Vol. 4.1, pp. 73–80.
[68] See page 12, note 28.
[69] Lundström, V., *L. Iuni Moderati Columellae Opera Quae Exstant,* Fasc. 1, 2, 6, 7, Upsala-Göteborg, 1897–1917.

best. In more recent times the tenth book, with text and critical apparatus only, has been edited separately by Häussner,[70] whose text is based on the study of fourteen manuscripts and the principal early editions; and by Lundström,[71] who had made a most careful study of twenty manuscripts, twelve of which had been noted by Häussner.[72] The most recent edition is contained in the *Corpus Poetarum Latinorum* of Postgate,[73] whose critical apparatus is an abridgment of those of Häussner and Lundström.

The works of Columella have never been edited in English, nor has the poem on gardening been translated, to my knowledge, in English prose; and no English translation of Columella's writings has been produced since that of M. C. Curtius in 1745, whose rendering of the *De Cultu Hortorum* is in blank verse with some sacrifice of accuracy.

The text and *apparatus criticus* of the present edition are based on the works of Häussner and of Lundström, but chiefly the latter as in every way the more reliable. Departures from Lundström's readings are noted in the commentary or in the critical apparatus, to which I have added also many readings of the more important editions. The list of *sigla* is taken from Lundström's edition, with the omission of the signs of two or three interpolated manuscripts, the readings of which are few and insignificant, and the addition of the readings of the Morgan Ms. (= **M**).

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[70] *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung des L. Junius Moderatus Columella, mit einer kritischen Ausgabe des X. Buches*, Karlsruhe, 1889.

[71] *L. Iuni Moderati Columellae Opera Quae Exstant*, Fasc. 6.

[72] Errors in Häussner's apparatus are pointed out by Langlet, "Ad Columellae Codicem Sangermanensem qui vocatur," *Eranos* 1.91–92; and by Lundström, "De nyaste textkritiska bidragen till Columellas tionde bok," *Eranos* 6.66–71.

[73] Postgate, J. P., *Corpus Poetarum Latinorum*, London, 1905, Vol. 2, pp. 206–209.

SIGLA

S =	Sangermanensis Petropolitanus olim 207, nunc Ms. Lat. 1.	saec. IX
A =	Ambrosianus L 85 sup.	saec. IX–X
R =	consensus codicum recentiorum vel omnium praeter eos qui separatim exhibentur.	saec. XV
a =	Laurentianus plut. 53, 32.	
=	Bibl. Brer. Mediol. A. D. xv, 4.	
c =	Caesenas Malatestianus plut. 24, 2.	
d =	Laur. Conu. Suppr. 285.	
k =	Laurentianus plut. 53, 24.	
m =	Venetus Marcianus 462.	
p =	Laurentianus plut. 53, 27.	
q =	Laurentianus plut. 91, 6 inf.	
s =	Laur.–Strozzianus 69.	
t =	Bononiensis 2523.	
u =	Urbino-Vaticanus 260.	
v =	Vaticanus lat. 1526.	
μ =	Mosquensis Demidovianus nunc deperditus. Lectiones reddidit Lundström e collatione C. Fr. Matthaei (Lect. Mosq. vol. I, Lips. 1779).	
M =	Hamiltonensis olim 184, nunc Morganensis 139.	anni 1469
V =	editio princeps ("Iensoniana"), Venetiis, 1472.	
B =	editio secunda ("Bruschiana"), Regii, 1482.	
ed. Ald. =	Iucundi editio Aldina, Venetiis, 1514.	

L. IUNI MODERATI COLUMELLAE REI RUSTICAE LIBER DECIMUS: *DE CULTU HORTORUM*

Faenoris tui, Siluine, quod stipulanti spoponderam tibi, reliquam pensiunculam percipe. Nam superioribus nouem libris hac minus parte debitum, quod nunc persoluo, reddideram. Superest ergo cultus hortorum segnis ac neglectus quondam ueteribus agricolis, nunc uel celeberrimus. Siquidem cum parcior apud priscos esset frugalitas, largior tamen pauperibus fuit usus epularum, lactis copia ferinaeque ac domesticarum pecudum carne uelut aqua frumentoque summis atque humillimis uictum tolerantibus. Mox cum sequens et 2

L. Iuni Moderati Columellę rei rusticae lib. X. explicit. incipit de uillaticis pastionibus liber secundus macellarius et apiarius *rubr. litt. unc.* **S:** Lib iuni moderati columelle rei rustice lib. X explicit. Incipit de uillaticis pastionibus lib II. macellarius et apiarius **A:** Iunii Moderati Columelle liber undecimus de cura hortorum carmen incipit *rubr. litt. maiusc.* **a:** L. Iuni moderati columellę rei rusticę liber decimus explicit | Eiusdem de cura Hortorum carmen incipit | De uillaticis pastionibus | Liber secundus Macellarius et apiarius *rubr. litt.* **b:** Liber undecimus rei rusticae carmina de cultu hortorum *maiusc. litt.* **d:** L. Iuni mo. col. rei rustice liber decimus explicit (*usque adhuc maiusc. litt.*) | L. iuni moderati columellę de cura hortorum carmẽ incipit | de uillaticis pastionibus | Liber secundus macellarius et apiarius **m:** L. Iuni Moderati Columellae de cura Hortorum carmen incipit feliciter. De uillaticis pastionibus liber secundus. Macellarius et Apiarius **μ:** Liber undecimus rei rustice | carmina de cultu hortorum *rubr. litt.* **q:** *inscriptionem om.* **cp**; *ceterum cfr subscriptionem.*

1 FAENORIS **S:** FOENORIS **d:** Fenoris **AR:** FENORIS TUI **c** stipulantis **A** sposponderam **qs:** sponderam **M** 2 precipe **M** ac minus **AR:** *om.* **M** 3 debitum ł deditum **b:** deditum **s** 4 superest] super **a** ortorum **Sc** 5 fignis ac **A:** segnis et **μ:** segnis (ac *om.*) **M:** insigniter neglectus *ed. Ald. Gesner* nunc] hic **p** 6 partior **Aabcμs** aput **A** 7 ẽe **A** 8 copa **S:** capa **A** ferineque **SAak:** ferinaque **R** *ed. Ald. Gesner Schneider Postgate* ac] et **a** 9 carne *supra versum* **S:** [carne] *Häussner* 10 tollerantibus **R** cu'sequens **A:** consequens **R**

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1. **Siluine:** the Silvinus, or Publius Silvinus, whom our author addresses at the beginning of each of the twelve books on agriculture and often throughout the work, is otherwise unknown. It appears from a few passages (e.g. 3.9.6, 3.3.3) that he was a countryman and a neighbor of Columella.

THE TENTH BOOK OF THE *RES RUSTICA* OF LUCIUS JUNIUS MODERATUS COLUMELLA: *ON THE CARE OF GARDENS*

Receive herewith in full, Silvinus, the last small payment of the pledge which, on your stipulation, I had promised you; for by my nine previous books I had discharged the account, less this payment which I am now making. There remains, then, the science of gardening once dormant and neglected by husbandmen of earlier days, but now even honored by many. Although in the time of our ancestors there was more niggardly economy, yet the custom of feasting was more widespread among the poorer classes, since men of high and low degree alike sustained life with an abundance of milk and game and with the flesh of their own herds, as though with water and grain. Then since

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7f. **largior . . . tolerantibus:** the syntax of this passage has puzzled editors and commentators. Schneider, with Gesner, reads *ferinaque* but removes the semicolon after *epularum*, where Gesner had placed it, and sets it after *carne*. In his commentary (p. 509) he admits that the thought is "paulo obscurior" but thinks it clarified by taking *copia* and *carne* with what precedes, since an abundance of milk and flesh have to do with banquets. Häussner, following the best mss., reads *ferinaeque* but brackets *carne*. Lundström ("Emendationes in Columellam," *Eranos* 2.58; cf. also his note *ad loc.*, *Eranos* 6.68) sees no corruption in the text and thinks that the fault lies in the interpretation of *summis atque humillimis* as ablative. He would take *copia* and *carne* as subjects of *tolerantibus*, making *summis atque humillimis* dative: "Ita hoc loco dicit scriptor, pristinis temporibus lactis copiam et carnem ut nunc aquam frumentumque summis et humillimis (cas. dat.) victum tolerasse, i. e. vitam sustentasse, pro alimentis fuisse."

The declining interest of the better classes in agricultural pursuits is a not uncommon lament of succeeding generations: e. g. Colum. 1. *praef.* 3f.; *id.* 11-20, 3.3.4; Hor. *Carm.* 2.15, 3.6.33-44.

7. **pauperibus:** Barth (*Advers.* 37.4, apud Gesner *ad loc.*) would remove this word as a gloss on *cenaeque non naturalibus desideriis sed censibus aestimentur* (§ 2, *infra*). Gesner rightly insists that the word is necessary to the sense of the passage, and is supported by Schneider.

praecipue nostra aetas dapibus libidinosa pretia constituerit cenaeque non naturalibus desideriis sed censibus aestimentur, plebeia paupertas summota pretiosioribus cibis ad uulgares compellitur. Quare cultus 3 hortorum, quoniam fructus magis in usu est, diligentius nobis, quam tradidere maiores, praecipiendus est, isque, sicut institueram, prorsa oratione prioribus subnecteretur exordiis, nisi propositum meum expugnasset frequens postulatio tua, quae praecepit ut poeticis numeris explerem georgici carminis omissas partis, quas tamen et ipse Vergilius significauerat posteris se memorandas

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1 precipua **cmμqsp** nostrae aetas **S**: nr̃e etas **A** libidinose **A** *Häussner Postgate*: libidinosis **R** *Gesner* 2 cenaeque] se neq; **cdq** naturalius **SA** desieris **S** 3 extimentur **c** summota **a** *ed. Ald.* 4 adulcares **A** 5 quõ **S**: qm̃ **A**: qm̃ et *vel* quoniam et **R**: quoniam (et *om.*) *Häussner Postgate*: quoniam [et] *Schneider:* quoniam et *ed. Ald. Gesner:* quorum iam *Lundström* 6 tradedere **μ**: tradiderunt *ed. Ald. Gesner Schneider* precipi /// endus est isque **S**: p̃cipiendis isq; **A** 7 prorsa *Lundström Postgate:* prosa **R** *ed. Ald. Gesner Schneider:* prorsus (oratione prioribus *om.*) **SA** *Häussner* subnectetur **μ** 9 precepit **SA**: praecepit *Häussner:* peruicit **R** *ed. Ald. Gesner Schneider Postgate* 10 georgici] greci **bmqs**: (uł georgici *in marg.*) **c**: 1' greci *suprascr.* **d** omissis **a** 11 et] ut *vett. edd.* uirgilius **R** posteris post se **bmstvM** *ed. Ald. Gesner*: uł post se *in marg* **cd**: posteris uł post se **qu**: post se commemoranda posteris se memoranda **a** memoranda **bcμpt**: commemoranda **cdmqsvM**

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5. **quoniam fructus:** *fruges* might be expected for fruits of the earth. Conversely Columella (39, *infra*) uses *fruges* as fruits of the tree. Early editors, in general, follow the later mss. in reading *quoniam et.* Schneider brackets *et* but does not think the sense improved thereby, since it is not clear what fruits Colum. has in mind. He believes that, if garden fruits are intended, as should be, some word is lacking. Lundström sees no need for two causal conjunctions in so close proximity, and regards either *quare* or the clause introduced by *quoniam* as superfluous. In an ingenious but unconvincing emendation (*op. cit.* pp. 58-59) he takes *quoniam* as a corruption of *quoriam* (*quorum iam*). But *quoniam* is a favorite conjunction with Columella; and similar juxtaposition of causal ideas is found elsewhere in his works (e. g. 12. *praef.* 4 *Quare cum; id.* 10 *Quam ob causam cum*); cf. Varro, *Rust.* 1.1.2 *Quare, quoniam emisti fundum.* I see no reason for departure from the reading of the best mss.

the succeeding age and especially our own generation has established fabulous prices for foods, and banquets are no longer judged by their satisfaction of natural wants but by their expense, the poor among the common people are deprived of the more expensive foods and are driven to ordinary fare. Therefore, since produce is now in greater use, we must teach the care of gardens more diligently than did our ancestors; and this, as I had decided, would be joined in prose discourse to my former writings, had not my design been assailed by your repeated urgings which directed me to complete, in poetic measures, the omitted portions of the Georgics which even Vergil himself expressly stated that he was leaving to be told by his successors.

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7. **prorsa oratione prioribus subnecteretur exordiis:** Häussner reads *prorsus subnecteretur exordiis* with the best mss., regarding *prosa oratione* as a gloss, possibly borrowed from 11.1.1 *cultus hortorum prosa ut oratione componerem* (*Die handschriftliche Überlieferung des L. Iunius Moderatus Columella*, p. 21). Woelfflin writes (*Archiv für lat. Lexikog.* 11.8): "Auch Colum. 10, praef. 3 haben die besten Codd.: cultus hortorum prorsus (im Prosa) prioribus subnecteretur exordiis, nisi etc." Lundström (*op. cit.*, *Eranos* 4.181f.) would not hesitate to accept the reading of the best mss. if this statement were true, but points out that *prioribus* is omitted in SA, without which the sense is impaired. He therefore emends to *prorsa oratione prioribus*, thinking that *prorsus* originated by haplography from *prors*(a oratione priorib)*us*. Postgate adopts this reading. Lundström points out similar slips of the eye in SA in 59f. and 118, where see notes.

8. **exordiis:** "Columellae *exordium* non est prooemium libri vel initium, sed totus liber, aut argumentum certe maius et caput dicendorum."—Gesner's *Lex. Rust.* The word is commonly used by Columella in this sense, e. g. 5.11.13, 7.5.1, 7.12.1.

9. **frequens postulatio tua, quae praecepit ut poeticis numeris explerem:** referring to the closing words of the ninth book of the *Res Rustica: quae reliqua nobis rusticarum rerum pars subest, de cultu hortorum, Publi Siluine, deinceps ita, ut et tibi et Gallioni nostro complacuerat, in carmen conseremus.*

10. **georgici Carminis omissas partis, quas tamen,** etc.: Verg. *Georg.* 4.147-148 *Verum haec ipse equidem spatiis exclusus iniquis | praetereo atque aliis post me memoranda relinquo;* Plin. *N. H. 14.7 Sed nos oblitterata quoque scrutabimur, nec deterrebit quarundam rerum humilitas, sicuti nec in animalibus fecit, quamquam videmus Vergilium praecellentissimum vatem ea de causa hortorum dotes fugisse,* etc.

relinquere. Neque enim aliter istud nobis fuerat auden- 4
dum quam ex uoluntate uatis maxime uenerandi, cuius
quasi numine instigante pigre sine dubio propter diffi-
cultatem operis, uerumtamen non sine spe prosperi
successus adgressi sumus tenuem admodum et paene
uiduatam corpore materiam, quae tam exilis est, ut in
consummatione quidem totius operis adnumerari ueluti
particula possit laboris nostri, per se uero et quasi suis
finibus terminata nullo modo speciose conspici. Nam
etsi multa sunt eius quasi membra, de quibus aliquid
possumus effari, tamen eadem tam exigua sunt, quod
aiunt Graeci, ut ex inconprehensibili paruitate harenae
funis effici non possit. Quare quicquid est istud, quod 5
elucubrauimus, adeo propriam sibi laudem non uindicat,
ut boni consulat, si non sit dedecori prius editis a me
scriptorum monumentis. Sed iam praefari desinamus.

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1 relinquo **bcdmqsM** nobis istud **M** audiendum **cdqsM** 3 instigante **R**: castigante **SA** qĩ minime **M** 4 prosperis **A** 5 aggressi **R**: adgredi **m** 6 tm̃ **A**: tamen **ak** ex illis **M** 7 ueluti *Schneider:* uelut in **Sabm**: uelut In **A**: uel ut in *μ* (*teste Häussner*): uelut **cdqM** *ed. Ald.* 9 speciosi **A**: spetiosi *μ*: spetiose **abdm** 10 et simulta *vel* etsi multa **R**: et simul sunt **SA** (*sed corr. man. alt. in* **S**): etsimulta sunt **bc**: et multa *vett. edd.* aliq't **A** 11 possimus **a** et tm̃ **A**: et tamen (*corr. ex* et tamem) **S** exciua **A** 12 ut quod aiunt Graeci *vett. edd. Schneider Lundström* (*sed errorem not. Lundström, Eranos 6.69*) ut om. *μ* incomprehensibili **R**: excomprehensibili **ak** herene **A**: Arene **b** 13 finis **M** 14 elucubrabimus **M** adeo] ideo **R**: adeo *om. ed. Ald.* 15 sit] desit **a** 16 monimentis **M**

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1. **fuerat**: in the apodosis of a condition contrary to fact the indicative imperfect or pluperfect is sometimes used to represent an act certain or uncertain of fulfillment, except for the condition expressed or implied.

For on no other condition than out of a desire to pay highest homage to the poet would I have made this venture; but with his divine majesty, as it were, urging me on, reluctantly to be sure because of the difficulty of the task, and yet not without hopes of favorable results, I have attacked a subject almost devoid of substance and meagre to the last degree; so scanty that in the accomplishment of the entire work it can be counted but a trifling part of our toil, but, where seen of itself and as circumscribed by its own limits, as by no means a thing of beauty. For though it has many branches, so to speak, on which we might say something, yet they are so slender that, as the Greeks put it, a rope cannot be made from the littleness of sand that cannot be grasped. Accordingly, be this what it may over which I have burned the midnight oil, it is so far from laying claim to praise on its own account that it is content if only it may not bring dishonor upon my former writings. But enough of preface.

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3. Columella is well aware of the difficulty of fitting his subject to verse. So Vergil, in writing of the care of sheep and goats (*Georg.* 3.289-290):

Nec sum animi dubius, verbis ea vincere magnum
quam sit et angustis hunc addere rebus honorem.

6. **paene uiduatam corpore materiam**: the reference is, of course, to the scantiness of poetic material. For Columella's estimate of agriculture in general, cf. 1. *praef.* 21 *At ego, cum aut magnitudinem totius rei, quasi quandam uastitatem corporis, aut partium eius uelut singulorum membrorum numerum recenseo, uereor ne supremus ante me dies occupet, quam uniuersam disciplinam ruris possim cognoscere.*

6f. Cf. Verg. *Georg.* 4. 6-7 (of bees)

In tenui labor; at tenuis non gloria, siquem
numina laeva sinunt auditque vocatus Apollo.

12-13. **paruitate harenae funis effici non possit**: Barth (*Advers.* 50. 10), quoted by some editors, connects this statement with the proverb of Suidas, ἐξ ἄμμον σχοινίον πλέκεις ἐπὶ τῶν ἀδυνάτων.

14. **elucubrauimus**: cf. Cic. *Att.* 7.19 *epistolam, quam eram elucubratus;* Tac. *Dial. de Orat.* 9 *magna noctium parte unum librum excudit et elucubravit.*

15. **boni consulat**: *boni* is gen. of value or judging. For the construction, see Lane-Morgan, *A Latin Grammar*, 1275; and for numerous examples of the idiom, Harper's *Lat. Dict.*, *s. v. consulo*, II. B.

Hortorum quoque te cultus, Siluine, docebo
atque ea, quae quondam spatiis exclusus iniquis,
cum caneret laetas segetes et munera Bacchi
et te, magna Pales, nec non caelestia mella,
Vergilius nobis post se memoranda reliquit.

Principio sedem numeroso praebeat horto
pinguis ager putris glebae resolutaque terga
qui gerit et fossus gracilis imitatur harenas;
atque habilis natura soli, quae gramine laeto
parturit et rutilas ebuli creat uuida bacas—

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1 ortorum **cμq** de (te *postea suprascr. suppuncto* de) **A** 2 quae *om.* **cq** condam **a**: qudam **c**: cqudam (c *del. et* o *supra* am *scr.*) **d** exclusis **dqM** 3 bachi **dpM** 5 uirgilius **R** 6 orto **acq** 7 putres glebas **abmspk** *ed. Ald. Wernsdorf:* putris glebas **cdq** terra **SAμ**: terga **R** *edd. omnes* 8 terit **a μ tM** (*suprascr.* gerit) **d** mittatur **A**: immittatur **c**: *om.* **q** 9 Atque habilis *om.* **A** 10 ebulus *in marg.* μ huuida **a**: uirida **cs**: uiuida **M** (*post in* inuida *mut.*) **p** bacchas **b**: bachas **M**

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1. H*ortorum quoque te* cultu*s*, *S*iluine, *docebo*: cf. Verg. *Georg.* 3.440
M*orborum quoque te* causa*s* et *signa docebo.*

Lundström ("Zur Geschichte des Reims in klassischer Zeit," *Eranos* 2. 108f.) has pointed out this and seven similar pairs of verses in which our author imitated Vergil even to the point of rhyme. See verses 12, 22, 97, 152, 190, 219, 299, and notes.

2 and 5. Cf. *Praef.* 3, and Verg. *Georg.* 4.147-148

Verum haec ipse equidem spatiis exclusus iniquis
praetereo atque aliis post me memoranda relinquo.

3-4. Columella is describing the four books of the *Georgics*, in order.

4. **et te, magna Pales:** cf. Verg. *Georg.* 3.1 *te quoque, magna Pales; Culex* 20 *et tu, sancta Pales.* Pales was a herdsmen's deity of vegetation and generation, hence sometimes called *fecunda* (e. g. *Culex* 77; Calp. *Ecl.* 7.22).

caelestia mella: cf. Verg. *Georg.* 4.1 *aerii mellis caelestia dona;* Sen. *Epist.* 84 *aiunt inveniri apud Indos mel in arundinum foliis, quod aut ros illius caeli aut ipsius arundinis umor dulcis et pinguior gignat;* Plin. *N. H.* 11.30 *Venit hoc <mel> ex aere et maxime siderum exortu, praecipueque ipso sirio explendescente, nec omnino prius Vergiliarum exortu, sublucanis temporibus.*

6. **principio sedem:** so Vergil in choosing a locality for bees (*Georg.* 4.8),

The care of gardens also will I teach you, Silvinus, and those things which once, prevented by limited space—when he was singing of the gladsome cornfields and the gifts of Bacchus, and of thee, great Pales, and also the heavenly honey—Vergil left to be told by us after his time.

In the first place let the site for a garden rich in crops be furnished by a fertile field whose clod is mellow and surface smooth, and which under the spade is like the crumbling sand; and by soil of suitable character, which teems with luxuriant grasses and, being well watered, produces the reddish berries of

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Principio sedes. Lucretius, too, shows a fondness for *principio* in introducing a discussion, e. g. 1.271, 503, 2.589, 3.179, 4.54, 5.251.

numeroso horto: variously interpreted by commentators: *a numero herbarum* (Pomponius); *amplus, laxus, in multas areas definitus* (Gesner); *numeris suis completus, seu perfectus* (Schneider); *amplus, multiplex areis et plantariis, plurium generum herbis et arboribus consitus* (Lemaire).

Columella elsewhere (11.3.8) directs that, in choosing a site for a garden, proximity to the farmhouse should be taken into account as well as mellowness of soil and nearness of water; so also Plin. *N. H.* 19.60 and Pallad. 1.34.

7. **pinguis ager:** Vergil has *pingue solum* in *Georg.* 1.64. The rest of the verse must have been suggested by *Georg.* 1.44 *putris se glaeba resolvit*; and cf. *id.* 2.203f. *presso pinguis sub vomere terra, | et cui putre solum . . . | optima frumentis.*

resolutaque terga: *resolvo* and *solvo* occur repeatedly in the poem in connection with the "loosening" of the earth (see 76, 90, 145, 167, 320); cf. also 2.2.25, 4.1.4, 5.5.1, 11.3.5; Verg. *Georg. loc. cit.;* Hor. *Carm.* 1.4.10 *aut flore, terrae quem ferunt solutae. Terga* is similiarly used by Vergil (*Georg.* 1.97, 2.236) and by Columella elsewhere (e. g. 2.2.23, 4.14.1, 10.71) to distinguish topsoil from subsoil. This meaning of the word is well illustrated in Auson. *Epit.* 21.1-2 *Hippothoum Pyleumque tenet gremio infima tellus: | caulibus et maluis terga superna uirent.*

9. **natura:** sc. *sedem praebeat horto.*

gramine laeto: cf. Verg. *Georg.* 2.525 *in gramine laeto.*

9ff. Columella has a like description of soil suitable for cultivation in 2.2.20, *multa sunt, quae et dulcem terram et frumentis habilem significent, ut iuncus, ut calamus, ut gramen, ut trifolium, ebulum, rubi, pruni siluestres, et alia complura, quae etiam indagatoribus aquarum nota, non nisi dulcibus terrae uenis educantur.*

10. **parturit:** for similar personification in the use of this verb, cf. Verg. *Georg.* 2.330 *parturit almus ager; Ecl.* 3.56 *nunc omnis ager, nunc omnis par-*

nam neque sicca placet, nec quae stagnata palude
perpetitur querulae semper conuicia ranae;
tum quae sponte sua frondosas educat ulmos
palmitibusque feris laetatur et aspera siluis
achradis aut pruni lapidosis obruta pomis
gaudet et iniussi consternitur ubere mali,
sed negat elleboros et noxia carpasa suco

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11 placet sed nec stagnata **S:** (sed *om.*) A nec quae] neque **M** 13 frondoses (a *supra* e *scr. man. alt.*) A 14 feriis **M** 15 ach/// radis (ar *ante rasur. scr.*) **S:** aclaradis **A:** (*in marg.* arcadis) *μ*: acradis **a:** acharadis (achradis *in marg.*) **bd:** achrados *ed. Ald. Gesner Wernsdorf* primi **Ap** 16 iniussi *man. alt. in* **k:** inuissi **M:** iniussa **SA:** iniussu **R** 17 negat (g *in* c *mut. man. alt.*) **S:** necat **A***μ* elleboro sed **A:** eleboros et **cs:** helleboros et **qk** carpasa *Häussner Postgate*: carbasa **S** *Lundström*: carbas ia **A:** galbana **R** *ed. Ald. Gesner Wernsdorf* succo **dsM**

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turit arbos; Hor. *Carm.* 1.17.16 *Notus neque parturit imbris perpetuos;* Colum. 414, *infra.*

rutilas ebuli . . . bacas: cf. Verg. *Ecl.*10.27 *<Pana> sanguineis ebuli bacis minioque rubentem. Ebulum* (*-us*) is *sambucus ebulus* (Danewort) of Linnaeus.

11. **stagnata palude:** cf. Ov. *Met.* 15.269 *quaeque sitim tulerant, stagnata paludibus ument.*

12. Lundström (see note on line 1) notices middle-rhyme and end-rhyme of this verse with Verg. *Georg.* 3.328 *et cantu querulae rumpent arbusta cicadae.*

querulae . . . conuicia ranae: Columella seems to have had in mind Verg. *Georg.* 1.378 *et ueterem in limo ranae cecinere querellam.* Schoettgen regarded the passage as an allusion to the fabled origin of frogs from rustics who wrangled with Latona (Ov. *Met.* 6.377-378). Probus and Servius were of the same opinion in their comments on Verg. *Georg. loc. cit.* The raucous croaking of the frog is often mentioned by Latin writers. Pliny devotes part of a chapter (*N. H.* 11.173) to an account of the manner and season of their croaking. Symphosius makes it the subject of one of his riddles (19). The sound of the croaking frog is well described by Albius Ovidius Iuventinus, *Elegia de Philomela* 64 (in Wernsdorf's *P. L. M.* 6, pp. 388f.) *garrula limosis rana coaxat aquis.*

13. **sponte sua:** cf. 9.1.15 *tum etiam sua sponte pabula feris benignissime subministrat.*

14. **aspera siluis:** cf. Verg. *Georg.* 1.152 *subit aspera silva,* 3.384 *primum aspera silva.*

the dwarf-elder—for neither is a dry place appropriate nor a place which, flooded with standing water, endures the everlasting wrangling of the complaining frog; furthermore, that which freely produces the leafy elm and delights in wild vine sprouts, and is glad to bristle with thickets of the wild pear, or to be covered with the stony fruit of the blackthorn, and to be strewn with the copious fruit of the unbidden apple; but it does not yield hellebore and carpasum with its hurtful juice, nor does

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palmitibus: Fest. (p. 246 Lindsay) *palmites vitium sarmenta appellantur, quod in modum palmarum humanarum virgulas quasi digitos edunt.*

15. **achradis:** i. e. *piri silvestris.* Columella retains the Greek name. Dioscorides (1.168) describes it as a kind of wild pear-tree whose fruit ripens late and has a more styptic quality than the pear-tree. Columella describes it more fully in 7.9.6 as *achrades piri.*

pruni lapidosis pomis: the *prunus siluestris* of 2.2.20 (see note 9ff.). So Vergil, *Georg.* 2.34, speaks of *lapidosa corna;* and Palladius, 14.91, of the *lapidosa viscera* of the medlar.

16. **iniussi . . . mali:** self-sown, as opposed to *iussum,* done by hand. Cf. Verg. *Georg.* 1.55 *iniussa virescunt gramina.* The opposite meaning is illustrated in 48, *tum iussi ueniant decliui tramite riui.*

consternitur ubere mali: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4.444 *consternunt terram concusso stipite frondes.* Lemaire explains that in the word *ubere* Columella has in mind the unusual fertility of the soil, because it bears fruits in such abundance that the earth is strewn with them; hence *ubere* here=*copia.* So in *Aen.* 7.262.

17. **elleboros:** Pliny (*N. H.* 25.47f.) describes two varieties of hellebore, black and white, and gives directions for the gathering and use of the drug. Both kinds were of common use among the ancients as remedies for epilepsy, mental diseases, etc. (e. g. Plin. *N. H.* 25.54f.; Hor. *Serm.* 2.3.82-83).

noxia carpasa suco: the *sucus carpathi* of Pliny (*N. H.* 32.58) and the *κάρπασον* of Dioscorides (*De Venenis,* c. 13), one swallow of which (Dioscorides, *loc. cit.*) would cause drowsiness and instant strangulation. No classical writer has attempted an identification of the plant. Schneider properly rejects *galbana* of the later mss. and early editors on the authority of Pliny (*N. H.* 12.126) that *galbanum* was introduced from Syria in his own time, and for the further reason that the resin of this plant is mentioned nowhere as a poison, but as a medicine. He emends to *carpasa,* citing the Greek spelling, and this I believe to be the true reading in view of Columella's frequent and faithful transliteration of Greek plant-names (cf. *andrachle,* 376; *bunias,* 422; *leucoia,* 97; *moloche,* 247; *paliuron,* 22). Lundström ("Emend. in Colum.," *Eranos* 4.182) defends the reading of S, noting

nec patitur taxos nec strenua toxica sudat,
quamuis semihominis uesano gramine feta
mandragorae pariat flores maestamque cicutam
nec manibus mitis ferulas nec cruribus aequa
terga rubi spinisque ferat paliuron acutis.

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18 tossica **a**: toxia **m** 19 quanuis **a**μ uexano **c** (s *supra* x *scr.*) **k** germine *Schrader* (*Hermes* 1871, 327) foetu **AM**: fetu **R** 21 mittis **M** ęque *vel* aeque *vel* eque *vel* equę **R**: aeque *ed. Ald.* 22 texta *Schrader* rubis pinisque **S**: rubi spinis quae **A**: rubis spinisque **R**: rubris spinisq; **M** paluiron **ap**: paluron **M**

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the spelling of Dioscorides (*loc. cit.*), which by regular change (citing Lindsay, *Die lat. Sprache*, p. 85f.) would become *carbasum*.

18. **taxos:** Pliny (*N. H.* 16.50-51) describes the tree as being considered especially deadly in Spain and in Arcadia, where it was supposed to be fatal to anyone who ate or slept beneath it. Vergil implies that it was baleful to swans (*Ecl.* 9.30) and bees (*Georg.* 4.47). The yew was regarded by some as a tree of the infernal regions, because of its poisonous berries (e. g. Ov. *Met.* 4.432; Sil. 13.596; Lucan, 3.419, 6.645).

toxica: here, as often, of poison in general, but sometimes connected with **τοξικός**, 'of the bow'; cf. Plin. *N. H.* 16.51 *Sunt qui et taxica hinc appellata dicant venena—quae nunc toxica dicimus—, quibus sagittae tinguantur;* Dioscorides, *de Venenis*, c. 20 (Lat. trans., ed. Sprengel, Leipzig, 1830), *Toxicum ex eo appellatum creditur, quod barbarorum sagittae eo illinantur.*

19. **semihominis uesano gramine feta mandragorae:** the European mandrake (*mandragora officinarum*), whose large forked root bears a fancied resemblance to the lower part of the human body and was anciently supposed to possess other human attributes, even to screaming when pulled from the ground. We have in a study, *De Mandragora*, by Charles Brewster Randolph (Harvard doct. diss., 1905. Translated as "The Mandragora of the Ancients in Folk-Lore and Medicine," *Proc. Am. Acad. A. & S.* 40 [1905], pp. 485-537), an exhaustive treatment of the herb as a magical and medicinal plant. Citing this passage, Dr. Randolph (p. 501) sees in *uesano gramine* a possible reference to madness induced by the mandragora, but finds it impossible to determine whether the interpretation of some (e. g. Lemaire, *ad. loc.*), 'although, rich in the mad plant, it brings forth the flowers of the half-human mandragora,' or of others (e. g. Barth apud Gesner, *ad. loc.*), 'although, rich in luxuriously growing grass, etc.' is correct. There seems to be good reason for supposing, however, that Columella, in listing *mandragora* among other plants well known for their poisonous properties, regarded it also

it tolerate the yew-tree, nor exude active poisons, although productive of maddening plants it may bring forth the flowers of the half-human mandrake and the gloomy hemlock, and the giant fennel not gentle to the hands and the branches of the bramble-bush unkind to the legs, and may bear the Christ's-thorn with its sharp spines. Also let there be streams near at

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in the same light. Frontinus (*Strateg.* 2.5.12) speaks of *mandragora* as a plant *cuius inter venenum ac soporem vis est;* Theophrastus (*H. P.* 6.2.9) describes one variety, our 'deadly nightshade,' as poisonous; Dioscorides (*De Venenis*, c. 16) says that it causes extreme drowsiness; and Barth (apud Gesner) quotes Aëtius as saying that it causes madness. The fullest and best description of *mandragora* is given by Dioscorides (4.76); Pliny (*N. H.* 25.147-150) gives a somewhat shorter one; and Theophrastus (*loc. cit.*) mentions a few characteristics of a plant known to him by that name. The mandrake is still the subject of many superstitions: see Skinner, *Myths and Legends of Flowers*, etc., pp. 168f.; Thiselton-Dyer, *The Folk-Lore of Plants*, pp. 101, 271, *et passim;* Phillips, *Flora Historica*, pp. 324-333.

20. **maestamque cicutam:** not our familiar tree, but an herb, probably *cicuta virosa* or *conium maculatum* of Linnaeus. Hemlock juice was given to criminals as a poison (e. g. Plin. *N. H.* 25. 151; Lucr. 5.899; Hor. *Serm.* 2.1.56), hence *maesta*.

21. **nec manibus mitis ferulas:** cf. 118 *ferulae minaces*. The tough stems of the giant fennel furnished switches for the schoolmasters; cf. Mart. 10.62.10 *ferulaeque tristes, sceptra pedagogorum; id.* 14.79 (*Ferulae*) *Invisae nimium pueris grataeque magistris;* Juv. 1.15 *Et nos ergo manus ferulae subduximus.*

22. **nec cruribus aequa terga rubi:** Vergil uses the adjective with like meaning in *Georg.* 3.546 *aër avibus non aequus*. For similarity of thought, cf. Tib. 3.9.9-10 *furtim latebras intrare ferarum, | candidaque hamatis crura notare rubis;* Ov. *Met.* 1.508-509 *indignave laedi | crura notent sentes;* Calp. *Ecl.* 3.5 *Iam dudum et nullis dubitavi crura rubetis | scindere.* Columella employs the word *tergum* in three other places in the poem in referring to an exterior surface: 7 *pinguis ager putris glebae resolutaque terga*, 71 *rastris . . . perfode terga*, 418 *picto quoque Lydia* <*ficus*> *tergo*. Vergil, too, often uses the word in the same sense.

spinisque . . . paliuron acutis: so Sedulius, 1.262 *purpurei neu per violaria campi | carduus et spinis surgat paliurus acutis*. Both Columella and Sedulius borrow from Verg. *Ecl.* 5.38 *pro molli viola, pro purpureo narcisso | carduus et spinis surgit paliurus acutis.* Columella retains the Greek spelling of the acc., thereby avoiding the loss of a syllable by elision. Pliny (*N. H.* 24.115) describes the appearance and uses of the plant.

Vicini quoque sint amnes, quos incola durus
attrahat auxilio semper sitientibus hortis,
aut fons inlacrimet putei non sede profunda,
ne grauis hausuris tendentibus ilia uellat.
Talis humus uel parietibus uel saepibus hirtis
claudatur, ne sit pecori neu peruia furi.
Nec tibi Daedaliae quaerantur munera dextrae,
nec Polyclitea nec Phradmonis aut Ageladae

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24 ortis **c** 25 illacrimet **R**: illacrimat **c** 26 ausuris **a**: (*suprascr.* h)**m**: haustris **cp**: hausturis **dgt** *ed. Ald. Gesner Wernsdorf Schneider:* hausturis tenentibus **M** 27 parientib; **M** sepibus **SA**(*teste* Häussner): sedilibus **M** hitis **SA** 28 *post* claudatur *exhibetur* neut *vel* ne ut **abmsμ**: neu **cdqpkt M** *ed. Ald. Gesner Wernsdorf* 29 neu tibi **R** *ed. Ald. Gesner Wernsdorf* dedaliae **S**: dealię **A**: dedalię *vel* dedalie **R**: Daedaleae *ed. Ald.* 30 policlytęa **S**: policlytea **A**: polyclitea **aqμkt**: policlitea **bcs**: polycletea **m.** policletea **M**: Polycletea *ed Ald.* fradmonis **p**: fragmonis **SktM**: phragmonis **Abcmqsμ**: Phragmonis *ed. Ald.* agelede **A**

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23. **incola durus**: cf. Verg. *Georg.* 1.160 *duri agrestes*, 4.512 *durus arator*:

23f. Cf. Colum. 11.3.8. *Locum autem eligi conveniet, si permittit agri situs, iuxta villam, praecipue pinguem, quique adveniente rivo, vel si non sit fluens aqua, fonte puteali possit irrigari;* Plin. *N. H.* 19.60 *Hortos villae iungendos non est dubium riguosque maxime habendos, si contingat, praefluo amne, si minus, e puteo rota organisve pneumaticis vel tollenonum haustu rigatos;* Pallad. 1.34.2 *Felix positio est, cui leniter inclinata planicies cursus aquae fluentis per spatia discreta derivat. Si fons desit, aut impremendus est puteus: aut, si nequeas hoc, piscina superius construenda est, ut illinc aquas pluvia conferente, hortus per aestivos rigetur ardores;* Verg. *Georg.* 1.106f.

Deinde satis fluvium inducit rivosque sequentis
et, cum exustus ager morientibus aestuat herbis,
ecce supercilio clivosi tramitis undam
elicit? illa cadens raucum per levia murmur
saxa ciet, scatebrisque arentia temperat arva.

Moretum 71 *norat . . . vicinosque apte curvatis summittere rivos.*

24. **sitientibus hortis**: cf. Verg. *Georg.* 3.137 *sitiens* <*arvum*>, 4.402 *cum sitiunt herbae;* Mart. 9.18.2-3 *Sed de valle brevi, quas det sitientibus hortis,* | *curva laboratas antlia tollit aquas;* Calp. *Ecl.* 2.96-97 *I procul, o Doryla, rivomque reclude canali* | *et sine iam dudum sitientes irriget hortos; Dirae* 16 *sitientia prata.*

hand, which the hardy peasant may bring to the relief of the ever-thirsting gardens, or let a weeping spring bubble forth from a basin of no great depth, lest it severely bruise the groins of those who shall stretch to drink it. Let such a plot be enclosed either by walls or bristling hedges, that it may be impervious to beast and thief. Seek not the services of a Daedalus' hand, nor let the work be done with the skill of Polyclitus or of Phradmon

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25. **putei non sede profunda**: cf. Colum. 1.5.1 *Si deerit fluens unda, putealis quaeratur in vicino, quae non sit haustus profundi, non amari saporis aut salsi.*

26. **tendentibus ilia uellat**: cf. Verg. *Georg.* 3.507 *ilia singultu tendunt.*

27. **parietibus**: the first syllable is here long and the word quadrisyllabic, by synizesis, as in Verg. *Georg.* 4.297; *Aen.* 2.442, 5.589.

saepibus hirtis: cf. 374 *hirsuta saepes horrida rusco.* Columella elsewhere (11.3.2-7) comments on the garden enclosure, and gives specific directions for hedge-planting. He recommends the hedge as preferable to the wall of brick or of stone from the standpoint of expense and durability. See also Pallad. 1.34.4-7.

27f. Cf. Colum. 5.10.1 *Modum pomarii, priusquam semina seras, circummunire maceriis oportet vel sepe vel fossa praecipiti, ut non solum pecori, sed et homini transitum negare valeat.*

29. **Daedaliae . . . dextrae**: Daedalus, a mythical Athenian architect and sculptor, said to have been employed by Minos to build the Cretan labyrinth. Pliny (*N. H.* 7. 198) says that Daedalus was the first to work in wood.

29f. Cf. *Priapea* 10.2-5 (*Poet. Lat. Min.* ed. Vollmer, 2.2)

non me Praxiteles Scopasve fecit
nec sum Phidiaca manu politus;
sed lignum rude vilicus dolavit,
et dixit mihi: 'tu Priapus esto.'

30. Polyclitus is well known as a Greek sculptor of the fifth century B. C. Phradmon, according to Pliny (*N. H.* 34.49), was a contemporary of Polyclitus. Ageladas (Hagelaïdas), the reputed teacher of Myron, Polyclitus and Phidias, is one of the greatest names in old Argive art. See Hyde, *Olympic Victor Monuments*, pp. 109–110.

arte laboretur, sed truncum forte dolatum
arboris antiquae numen uenerare Priapi
terribilis membri, medio qui semper in horto
inguinibus puero, praedoni falce minetur.
Ergo age nunc cultus et tempora quaeque serendis
seminibus, quae cura satis, quo sidere primum
nascantur flores Paestique rosaria gemment,
quo Bacchi genus aut aliena stirpe grauata
mitis adoptatis curuetur frugibus arbos,

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31 ante **A** sedtrus cũ forte **A** delatum **V** 32 priapi **SAabμM**: (triphalli *suprascr.*) **d**: aut ithyphalli *in marg.* **kt**: trifalli **mp**: triphali (vel priapi *suprascr.*) **c**: triphalli **qs**: Ithyphalli **V** *ed. Ald. Gesner Wernsdorf Schneider:* thyphalli **B** 33 orto **c** 34 in gunib; **A** p̃donis **A** 36 segminib; **d** 37 pestique **bcdmqk** *ed. Ald.:* pestisque **μ**: (*om.* que) **s** festaque **S**: festi **A**: festi quoque **a** gẽment *man. pr. omiss. adscr. man. alt.* **A** 38 bachi **SmM** ad aliena **dqM** *v. 38 om.* **c** 39 mittis **M**

30-31. **nec . . . arte laboretur:** *Culex* 86 *illi falce deus colitur, non arte politus; Catalepton* (*Priapea*) 2.1 *ego arte fabricata rustica,* 3.3 *quercus arida rustica formitata securi.*

32f. Priapus, god of procreation, was said to be the son of Bacchus and Venus. His image, usually of roughhewn wood and armed with a sickle and a club, was a regular feature of the garden, as half god and half scarecrow: Tib. 1.1.17-18 *pomosisque ruber custos ponatur in hortis | terreat ut saeva falce Priapus aves; Culex* 86 *Illi falce deus colitur, non arte politus*; *Copa* 23-24 *Est tuguri custos, armatus falce saligna, | sed non et vasto est inguine terribilis;* Verg. *Georg.* 4.110-111 *et custos furum atque avium cum falce saligna | Hellespontiaci servet tutela Priapi;* Mart. 3.68.9 *custodem medio statuit quam vilicus horto;* Tib. 1.4.7-8; Verg. *Ecl.* 7.33-36; Mart. 6.49, 6.73, 8.40; Hor. *Serm.* 1.8.1-7.

35. **Ergo age nunc:** a transitional phrase common with the poets; cf. Verg. *Georg.* 1.63 *Ergo age, terrae | pingue . . . solum . . . invortant tauri,* 4.149 *Nunc age;* Ov. *Ars* 1.343 *Ergo age, ne dubita.*

36. **quae cura satis:** cf. Verg. *Georg.* 1.3 *quae cura boum,* 4.118 *pinguis hortos quae cura colendi | ornaret.*

quo sidere: cf. Verg. *Georg.* 1.1 *quo sidere terram vertere.*

37. **nascantur flores:** cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 3.107 *nascantur flores.*

Paestique rosaria: Paestum, a city on the coast of Lucania, was famous in ancient times for the cultivation of roses of unusual fragrance and color; cf.

or of Ageladas, but in the roughhewn trunk of an old tree worship the divinity of Priapus of the terrible member; who shall forever in the center of the garden menace the boy with his virility and the robber with his sickle.

Come then, Pierian Muses, spin now in finedrawn verse the seasons for tilling, what care, too, befits the sowing of the seeds, what care when sown, under what star flowers first spring forth and roses of Paestum bud, under what star Bacchus' child or the fruitful tree, weighed down with a graft of other stock,

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Ov. *Met.* 15.708 *tepidique rosaria Paesti;* Prop. 4.5.61 *odorati . . . rosaria Paesti;* Mart. 4.42.10 *Paestanis rubeant aemula labra rosis;* Auson. 22.2.11 (in Peiper's Teubner ed.) *vidi Paestano gaudere rosaria cultu.* The rose of Paestum is said to have possessed the peculiarity of blooming twice in a year; e. g. Verg. *Georg.* 4.119 *biferique rosaria Paesti;* Mart. 12.31.3 *nec bifero cessura rosaria Paesto.*

gemment: i. e. shine like gems. Cf. 258 *iam Phrygiae loti gemmantia lumina promunt; Culex* 70 *florida cum tellus, gemmantis picta per herbas, | vere notat dulci distincta coloribus arva; Pervig. Ven.* 13 *Ipsa gemmis purpurantem pingit annum floribus;* Asmenius, *de Laud. Hort.* 11-12 (*Anth. Lat.* ed. Riese. Vol. 2, No. 635) *Flores nitescunt discolore gramine | pinguntque terram gemmeis honoribus.*

38. **Bacchi genus:** i. e. the vine. The force of *grauata* is felt with *genus* as well as with *arbos.* The advantages derived from grafting the vine were well known to ancient husbandmen. Columella devotes an entire chapter (4.29) to the subject; cf. also 3.9.6, *De Arb.* 8 and 9; Cato, *Agr.* 41; Varro, *Rust.* 1.41.3; Plin. *N. H.* 17.25; Pallad. 11.7; *id.* 14.47–50.

38-39. The personification of the tree as heavy with its own or adopted offspring (grafted fruits) is a commonplace in Latin poetry. Cf. Lucr. 1.253 *crescunt ipsae <arbores> fetuque gravantur;* Verg. *Georg.* 2.429 *fetu nemus omne gravescit;* Ov. *Rem.* 175-176 *Adspice curvatos pomorum pondere ramos, | ut sua, quod peperit, vix ferat arbor onus; id.* 195-196 *Venerit insitio: fac ramum ramus adoptet, | stetque peregrinis arbor operta comis; Medic.* 6 *fissaque adoptivas accipit arbor opes;* Pallad. 14.19-20 *Quae quibus hospitium praestent virgulta docebo, | quae sit adoptivis arbor onusta comis;* Lucr. 1.351; Ov. *Ars* 2.652; *Met.* 13.812, 15.76; Pallad. 14.143-144, 159-160.

39. **frugibus:** for *fructibus,* as in 9.1.5 and 3.17.1 for fruits of the tree or of the vine. So Vergil once, *Georg.* 2.424, uses the word in referring to tree-fruits (olive-berries). Cf. Hor. *Epist.* 1.16.9-10 *quercus et ilex multa fruge pecus . . . iuvet;* Calp. *Ecl.* 8.67 *omnique ex arbore fruges.*

Pierides tenui deducite carmine Musae.
Oceani sitiens cum iam Canis hauserit undas
et paribus Titan orbem librauerit horis,
cum satur Autumnus quassans sua tempora pomis
sordidus et musto spumantis exprimet uuas,
tum mihi ferrato uersetur robore palae
dulcis humus, si iam pluuiis defessa madebit.
At si cruda manet caelo durata sereno,

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43 quassas **c** tẽp̃ **A** 44 Sordib; **dkv**: Sordibus **M** *ed. Ald.:* sordidis **m** spumantes **c**: spimantis exprimit **M** 45 uersentur **aμpk**: ueretur **bms**: uenetur **M**: uerretur **d**: ueřetur **c** 46 si *om.* **S** suam **M** defessa **SAad**: defossa **R** *ed. Ald. Gesner Wernsdorf* madeuit **A**: madescit *Gesner:* putris perfusa madescet *Schrader* 47 ad (*postea in* at *mut.*) **S** Ad **A** madet *in marg.* μ

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40. **Pierides . . . Musae:** Hesiod, *Works and Days* 1 Μοῦσαι Πιερίηθεν; *Theog.* 966 Μοῦσαι 'Ολυμπιάδες. Pieria, a country in Macedonia, was one of the earliest seats of worship of the Muses, and here, says Hesiod (*Theog.* 53f.), the nine Muses were born; hence the name *Pierides*. Vergil commonly speaks of the Muses as *Musae* or *Pierides*, but nowhere does he combine the terms.

deducite carmine Musae: in this invocation of the 'Pierian Muses' we have a reminiscence of the introductory words of Hesiod's *Works and Days:* "Muses of Pieria, who glorify with song, etc." So Ovid invokes the gods at the beginning of the *Metamorphoses* (1.4), *primaque ab origine mundi | ad mea perpetuum deducite tempora carmen.* The figure is drawn from spinning; cf. Catull. 64.312 *dextera tum leviter deducens fila supinis | formabat digitis.* For similar ideas of the spinning of poetry, cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 6.5 *deductum dicere carmen*, with Heyne's note; Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.225 *tenui deducta poemata filc; Serm.* 1.1.15 *audi quo rem deducam,* 1.10.43-44 *forte epos acer | ut nemo, Varius ducit;* Colum. 10.227.

tenui: = *gracili,* as Gellius defines it (6.14.1): *Et in carmine et in soluta oratione genera dicendi probabilia sunt tria, quae Graeci* χαρακτῆρας *vocant nominaque eis fecerunt* ἁδρόν, ἰσχνόν, μέσον. *Nos quoque, quem primum posuimus, 'uberem' vocamus, secundum 'gracilem,' tertium 'mediocrem.' Uberi dignitas atque amplitudo est, gracili venustas et subtilitas,* etc.

bends beneath its adopted fruits.

When the thirsty Dog Star shall have drunk the waves of Oceanus, and Titan shall have balanced his orb half way along the hours, when Autumnus, shaking his fruit-crowned temples and bespattered with new wine, shall press out the foaming grapes, then let the sweet mold be upturned by my sturdy iron-shod spade, if now wearied by much rain it is filled with moisture. But if it is still hard and lumpy under a cloudless

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41. **Canis:** i. e. the dog of Erigone (see 400, note) translated to the heavens as Sirius, the brightest star in the constellation Canis Major. *Canis* or *Canicula* was the usual designation of this star among the Romans.

sitiens: refers to the supposed setting of the Dog Star in the ocean. The date would be about Sept. 24 (Ruelle in Daremberg et Saglio, *s. v. Calendarium,* p. 848; cf. Varro, *Rust.* 1.28.1-2). On the thirstiness and drying effect of the Dog Star, cf. Ov. *Ars* 2.231 *sitiensque Canicula;* Prop. 2.28.4 *incipit et sicco fervere terra Cane;* Tib. 1.4.6 *aestivi tempora sicca Canis; id.* 42 *Canis arenti torreat arva siti;* Verg. *Aen.* 10.274 *ille* <*Sirius* > *sitim . . . ferens.*

42. **Titan:** the sun personified. Helios, the sun-god, was called Titan by the Latin poets as the son of the Titan Hyperion. For similar uses of the word, cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4.119; Ov. *Met.* 1.10, 2.118, 6.438; *Fast.* 1.617, 2.73, 4.180, 919. The line contains a suggestion of Verg. *Georg.* 1.208-209 *Libra die somnique pares ubi fecerit horas, | et medium luci atque umbris iam dividit orbem.* An obvious allusion to the constellation Libra, the scales in which the sun balances the hours of day and night. The time referred to is that of the autumnal equinox, Sept. 24-26 according to our author (11.2.66; cf. Ruelle, *op. cit.,* p. 848).

43. **satur autumnus:** at the beginning of the autumn season fruits were woven into wreaths and offered to Vertumnus (Prop. 4.2.17); hence Autumnus may be said to be crowned with fruits. Horace (*Epod.* 2.17) employs a similar but more graceful figure, *cum decorum mitibus pomis caput | Autumnus agris extulit.* Cf. Ov. *Rem.* 187 *Poma dat autumnus;* Hor. *Carm.* 4.7.11 *pomifer autumnus fruges effuderit.* For *satur* in a similar sense, cf. Pers. 1.71 *rus saturum.*

44. **sordidus:** autumn so called, from those who tramp grapes (Tib. 2.5.85 *oblitus et musto feriet pede rusticus uvas*). Cf. Ov. *Met.* 2.29 *stabat et Autumnus calcatis sordidus uvis; Fast.* 4.897 *Venerat Autumnus calcatis sordidus uvis;* Apul. *Met.* 2.116 *cum mustulentus auctumnus maturum colorem adflaverit; id.* 9.232 *post mustulentas . . . auctumni delicias;* Boeth. *Cons.* 1.2.21 *Autumnus gravidis influat uvis.*

46. Cf. Verg. *Georg.* 3.429 *vere madent udo terrae ac pluvialibus austris.*

tum iussi ueniant decliui tramite riui,
terra bibat fontis et hiantia compleat ora.
Quod si nec caeli nec campi competit umor
ingeniumque loci uel Iuppiter abnegat imbrem,
expectetur hiems, dum Bacchi Gnosius ardor
aequore caeruleo celetur uertice mundi
solis et aduersos metuant Atlantides ortus.
Atque ubi iam tuto necdum confisus Olympo,

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49 hianti complea ore **R** (*excepto* **a**): hianti compleat hora **p** 50 quod sine celi **A** humor **R** 51 iupiter **cμqsM** abneget (a *supra* e *scr.*) **μ** 52 exspectetur **A** hiemps **SAm** *Postgate:* hyemps **dqs**: hyems **c** gnosius **μdM**: noxius **SAR** (*in marg.*)**μ** 53 caeruletur (ru *postea expunct.*) **S**: ceruletur **AdkM**: celeretur **R**: celeriter (ceruletur *in marg.*)**μ** 54 athlantides **SR**: metuant lantides **A**: athlantidis **c**: athalantidis **d** 55 toto **μp** (*in marg.*) **k** nedum **c**: nondum **p**

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48. Cf. Verg. *Georg.* 1.108 *ecce supercilio clivosi tramite undam | elicit?*

iussi . . . riui: irrigation ditches. Cf. Calp. *Ecl.* 2.34 *iam potes irriguos nutrire canalibus hortos;* and notes on 23f., *supra.* For a discussion of the subject, see Charles Knapp, "Irrigation among the Greeks and Romans," *C. W.* 12.73-74, 81-82.

49. **terra bibat fontis:** in imitation of Verg. *Georg.* 2.218 *et bibit humorem* <*terra*>, and *id.* 4.32 *bibant uiolaria fontem.*

hiantia compleat ora: Verg. *Georg.* 1.91 speaks of the *venas hiantis* of the earth, and Avienus, *Ora* 17, of its *hiantes fauces.*

50f. Cf. Colum. 11.3.10 *At ubi loci natura neque manu illatam, neque suae spontis aquam ministrari patitur, nullum quidem aliud auxilium est, quam hiemales pluviae.*

caeli . . . umor: cf. Verg. *Georg.* 1.471 *caeli mobilis umor.*

52. **expectetur hiems:** i. e. *hiemales pluviae,* as our author says in 11.3.10. The period here marked is from the last of October to the middle of November (cf. Colum. 2.8.2 *propter quod intelligi debet tritici satio dierum sex et quadraginta ab occasu Vergiliarum, qui fit ante diem IX Calend. Novemb. ad brumae tempora,* 11.2.78 *Quinto Calendas Novembris Vergiliae occidunt; hiemat cum frigore et gelicidiis; id.* 84 *Sexto Idus Novembris Vergiliae mane occidunt, significant tempestatem; hiemat;* Plin. *N. H.* 2.125 *Post id aequinoctium diebus fere IV et XL, Vergiliarum occasus hiemem inchoat, quod tempus in III Idus*

sky, then let streams be bidden to come in sloping channels, and let the earth drink in the water and fill her yawning cracks. But if moisture neither of sky nor of field is available, and the nature of the locality or Jupiter himself denies the rain, then wait for winter, till the Gnosian flame of Bacchus be hidden in the azure waters on the horizon and the daughters of Atlas shun the rising of the sun in the opposite quarter. And when Phoebus does not yet trust in the safety of the heavens but flees in alarm

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Novembris incidere consuevit). Columella like Vergil (*Georg.* 1.221-222) erred in assigning the setting of the Crown to the same period as that of the Pleiades (see notes of Heyne and Voss on Verg. *loc. cit.*).

Bacchi Gnosius ardor: *Gnosius,* i. e. Cretan, from Gnosus, the ancient capital of Crete. The reading *Gnosius,* of a few late mss. only, is supported by Verg. *Georg.* 1.222 *Gnosiaque ardentis decedat stella Coronae.* Columella refers, of course, to the cluster of stars called the Crown, which represent, according to fable, the crown given by Venus to Ariadne, daugher of Minos, king of Crete, at her nuptials with Bacchus. Cf. Ov. *Fast.* 5.345-346 *Bacchus amat flores: Baccho placuisse coronam | ex Ariadneo sidere nosse potes;* Hesiod, *Theog.* 947f.; Hyg. *Fab.* 225; *et al.* The constellation is called *Cressa Corona* by Ovid (*Ars* 1.558), *Ariadnea Corona* by Manilius (5.21).

54. **Atlantides:** Atlas is said to have had fourteen daughters called by the general name of *Atlantides* and represented by a loose cluster of stars in the constellation Taurus. Five or seven of them, the number is variously given, were called *Hyades*—a name which Ovid (*Fast.* 5.165) rightly derives from ὕειν, 'to rain,' but connected by some with ὗs, 'a pig,' which gave rise to the erroneous designation *Suculae* (cf., e. g., Hyg. *Fab.* 192; *Astr.* 2.21; Gell. 13.9.4; and for an excellent note on the name, see J. G. Frazer ad Ovid, *loc. cit.*, in his recent edition of the *Fasti*). The rest were called *Pleiades* from their mother Pleione, and were known also as *Vergiliae* from their rising at the end of spring. This event was supposed to bring stormy weather (Colum. 11.2.35, 36, 39, 43, 88, 89; Ov. *Fast.* 5.83-84). They are here said to fear the rising of the sun because of their setting while the sun is rising. The setting of Hyades and Pleiades marked the time of fall-plowing (Hesiod, *Works and Days* 383-384, 614-617).

55. **necdum confisus Olympo . . . Phoebus:** Columella refers to the passage of the sun from the Scorpion to Sagittarius. *Olympo* is poetic for *caelo,* as often in Vergil (*Ecl.* 6.86; *Georg.* 3.223; *Aen.* 1.374, 9.106); cf. Varro, *Ling.* 7.20 *caelum dicunt Graeci Olympum.*

sed trepidus profugit chelas et spicula Phoebus
dira Nepae tergoque Croti festinat equino,
nescia plebs generis, matri ne parcite falsae.
Ista Prometheae genetrix fuit altera cretae;
altera nos enixa parens, quo tempore saeuos
tellurem ponto mersit Neptunus et imum
concutiens barathrum Lethaeas terruit undas.
Tumque semel Stygium regem uidere trementem
Tartara, cum pelagi streperent sub pondere Manes.
Nos fecunda manus uiduo mortalibus orbe
progenerat, nos abruptae tum montibus altis

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56 tepidus VB foebus Sd 57 nepe **p**: nepet **bms**: negat uel nepet **dq** (*pro litt.* et *spatium vacuum*) **c**: negat SAμ**ka**M: nepae *ed. Ald.* Croti] erote M 58 ne] nec **cqp**M 59 promethei SA genitrix **acq**M prometeae genitrix *ed. Ald.* 59-60 altera crete | altera nos enixa parens R: altera noxe | Nixa parens S: alter | axae || Nixa parens A: altera craetae || altera nixa parens μ 61 mersit *om.* S neptumnus **ak**: neptūnus **cdqs** 62 concuties **c** barathrum (h *postea exp.*) S: baratrum **cdmp**M loetheas M: lactheas A undas] umbras *Schrader* 63 simul **cmqs**M: semel (*in* simul *mut.*) **d** stigium SAR 65 manusuido (nusuid *in ras.*) S orbi (e *supra* i *scr.*) **b**μ 66 abrup etũ S: abrupte (tum *supra versum*) **d**: abrupto M: abruptis μ altis *om.* A

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56. **sed trepidus:** on account of the shortness of the days the sun seems to be in anxious flight.

chelas et spicula: Vergil uses *chelas* figuratively for the Scorpion itself (*Georg.* 1.33). Ovid also (*Fast.* 5.542) assigns *spicula* to the Scorpion.

57. **Nepae:** the zodiacal sign Scorpion. Cf. Paul. Fest. p. 163 Lindsay, (*Nepa*) *Afrorum lingua sidus, quod cancer appellatur, vel, ut quidam volunt, scorpios;* Colum. 11.2.78 *Septimo Calendas Novembris Nepae frons exoritur.*

tergoque Croti . . . equino: Crotus (Sagittarius), said to be a Centaur. Hyginus (*Astr.* 2.27; *Fab.* 224) says that he was the son of Pan and Eupheme, that he had an abode on Mt. Helicon, where he was wont to disport himself with the Muses; he was fond also of the hunt and skillful with the bow and arrow; at last, in answer to the prayers of the Muses, he was placed among the constellations. We have here the same figure of apparent haste due to the shortness of the days. For the date, cf. Colum. 11.2.88 *Quartodecimo Calendas Decembris sol in Sagittarium transitum facit.*

the claws and dreadful stings of the Scorpion and hastens away on the horselike back of Crotus, do not then, ye swains, ignorant of your origin, spare the earth falsely called your mother. She was one mother, to the offspring of Promethean clay; a second mother bore us at the time when cruel Neptune submerged the earth in the sea and, shaking the infernal realms to their lowest depths, brought terror to the waters of Lethe. And then for a single time did Tartarus see the Stygian king quaking with fear when the spirits of the dead gibbered noisily beneath the pounding of the sea. A fruitful hand brought us forth in a world bereft of mortals; of Deucalion's rocks torn then from the lofty

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58. **generis:** best taken, I believe, with *nescia*, though Häussner and Lundström set the comma after *plebs*, thus throwing *generis* with *matri*.

ne parcite: the imperative with *ne* occurs again in 73, a construction not uncommon in Vergil (e. g. *Georg.* 1.501, 2.298-302, 3.96, 3.393; *Aen.* 2.48, 3.96, 160, 316, 393, 6.544).

59. Prometheus, according to fable, formed men of clay and animated them by means of fire stolen from heaven; for this theft he was fastened to Caucasus, where a vulture fed upon his vitals until, at last, it was slain by Hercules. The race created by Prometheus was, because of its wickedness, finally destroyed by a flood sent by Jove, the only survivors being Deucalion, son of Prometheus, and his wife Pyrrha. These two created a new and hardier race by the simple procedure of throwing stones (*ossa magnae parentis*) behind them. The story is related at length by Ovid (*Met.* 1.318ff.) and is often alluded to (e. g. Verg. *Georg.* 1.62-63; Cens. 4.6). Columella means to say that the earth is not the mother of the present race of mortals, a new race created by Deucalion after the flood.

59-60. The apparent haplography in the unintelligible readings of S and A, for *fuit altera* (cretae altera) *nos enixa parens*, has been noted by Lundström ("Emendationes in Columellam," *Eranos* 4.182).

60. **quo tempore saeuos:** cf. Vergil's *quo tempore primum* in the same position in the verse (*Georg.* 1.61) in his reference to the story of Deucalion.

62. **imum . . . barathrum:** a Grecism (cf. βάραθρον) adopted by many Latin writers to designate the infernal regions; cf. Val. Fl. 2.192 *inferni sub nocte barathri;* Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 1.37 *quaecumque latent ferali monstra barathro;* Lucr. 3.966, 6.606; Verg. *Aen.* 3.421, 8.245; Sil. 9.497; Val. Fl. 2.86.

63. **Stygium regem:** Pluto. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6.252 *Stygio regi.*

65. **manus:** i. e. the hands of Deucalion and Pyrrha.

66. **progenerat:** this compound of the verb, comparatively rare, is not

Deucalioneae cautes peperere. Sed ecce
durior aeternusque uocat labor: heia age segnis
pellite nunc somnos et curui uomere dentis
iam uiridis lacerate comas, iam scindite amictus.
Tu grauibus rastris cunctantia perfode terga,
tu penitus latis eradere uiscera marris
ne dubita et summo feruentia cespite mixta

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67 Deucalione **acM** 68 eia **cpM** 69 pellice **cq** 70 iã scindere **M** 71 cum tatia (*sed corr.*) **S** 72 marris **k**: matris **SAR**: *post* matris *scr.* uiscera *et del.* **A**: t. p. marris e. u. matris *Wernsdorf* 73 et summi *ed. Ald.* summoque *Gesner* feruentia *Gesner praeeunte* **p**: feruenti cespite *exh.*: frementia cespite **S**: frequentia acespite (a *in* frequentia *man. alt. del.*)**A**: frequentia cespite **astM** *ed. Ald.*: frequenti a cespite **cdq**: frequenti cespite **bm**: frequenti et cespite *μ*: frondenti *Schneider*: n. d. summoque frequentia c. mista *Gesner Wernsdorf* mixtia **A**

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uncommon in Columella's prose works, e. g. 3.10.15, 6.28, 7.3.12, 9.14.6; in the poem, cf. *ingenera*, 196, and the uncompounded form twice, 185, 213.

67. **nos . . . Deucalioneae cautes peperere:** cf. Verg. *Georg.* 1.62-63 *Deucalion vacuom lapides iactavit in orbem* | *unde homines nati, durum genus;* Ov. *Met.* 1.414-415 *Inde genus durum sumus experiensque laborum,* | *et documenta damus, qua simus origine nati.*

68. **heia age segnis:** cf. Verg. *Georg.* 3.42 *en age segnis.* In making this transition from the story of the creation of man to the exhortation to the farmer not to shirk the task of breaking the soil, Columella follows closely in the steps of his model, *Georg.* 1.60f.

Continuo has leges aeternaque foedera certis
imposuit natura locis, quo tempore primum
Deucalion vacuom lapides iactavit in orbem
unde homines nati, durum genus. Ergo age terrae
pingue solum, etc.

durior aeternusque vocat labor: so Ovid recalls himself to his theme after a digression, *Ars* 2.538 *difficilis nostra poscitur arte labor.*

69. **pellite nunc somnos:** cf. 159 *inuigilate uiri.*

70. **scindite amictus:** cf. Verg. *Georg.* 3.160 *scindere terram.* Here *scindite* = *proscindite*, a term which Varro defines, *Rust.* 1.30.2 *terram cum primum arant, proscindere appellant.* In speaking of the earth as a woman and a mother, having hair, mantles, viscera, etc., Columella employs a figure which is com-

mountains were we born. But lo! a more difficult and an eternal task is calling. Come, away now with slothful sleep, and with curved-toothed plow tear now earth's verdant locks, cut now her mantle. Dig through the stubborn surface with heavy mattocks, nor hesitate to root out with broad weeding-hooks the very bowels of the earth and to place them on the surface steaming and mixed with sod, to lie exposed to the baking

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monplace among poets: cf., e. g., Ov. *Rem.* 171-172 *Colla iube domitos oneri supponere tauros,* | *sauciet ut duram vomer aduncus humum;* Claud. 26.168 *Ver nivibus viridem monti reparavit amictum.* The reference to tree foliage as hair, a figure common with poets (e. g. Hor. *Carm.* 1.21.5 *nemorum coma,* 4.7.1-2 *redeunt iam gramina campis arboribusque comae;* Catull. 34.9 *comata silva*), is extended by Columella to plant vegetation and is greatly overworked in the poem: *comae* 70, 98, 165, 188, 277, 297, 335; *crines* 165, 181, 238.

71. **grauibus rastris:** cf. Ov. *Ars* 1.726 *et gravibus rastris sub Iove versat humum.*

cunctantia perfode terga: cf. Verg. *Georg.* 2.236-237 *glaebas cunctantis crassaque terga* | *expecta et validis terram proscinde iuvencis.*

71-72. **tu . . . tu:** the emphatic repetition of the second personal pronoun is characteristic of hymns and eulogies (cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.10.5-17, 1.12.58-59, 1.35.5-21, 4.14.33,51). Here it seems to have no especial force. Cf. 165 *tu cinge comas, tu dissere crines*, 192-193 *tuque . . . tuque*, 429 *Te . . . te . . . teque.*

72. The verse has called forth much editorial comment and some emendations, but the reading of the Aldine edition has stood the test of nearly all editors of the last century and a half. While *latis* and *matris* have almost identical ms. authority, *matris* must be rejected and *latis* retained. The reading *clatris* for *latis*, proposed by some, has no ms. backing, and may be objected to further on the ground that *clatri* (*clatra*) are nowhere mentioned as digging implements; *marra*, on the other hand, occurs a few lines later in the poem (89) and was known to Pliny (*N. H.* 17.159, 18.147) and Juvenal (3.311).

eradere uiscera (terrae): cf. Verg. *Aen.* 3.575 *avolsaque viscera montis.*

73. **ne dubita:** cf. Verg. *Aen.* 3.316 *ne dubita*, and note on 58.

et summo feruentia: the readings of the best mss., *frementia* and *frequentia*, are metrically impossible after *et summo*, and there is no justification for Gesner's *summoque.* Schneider, *ad loc.*, recalls that Pius had seen the reading *et summo ferventi* in an early ms.; which may have given rise to Gesner's *ferventia*, accepted by Häussner, Lundström, and Postgate. The word is found with like meaning in Sil. 9.483 *ferventia caedibus arva.*

ponere, quae canis iaceant urenda pruinis,
uerberibus gelidis iraeque obnoxia Cauri,
alliget ut saeuus Boreas Eurusque resoluat.
Post ubi Riphaeae torpentia frigora brumae
candidus aprica Zephyrus regelauerit aura
sidereoque polo cedet Lyra mersa profundo
ueris et aduentum nidis cantabit hirundo,

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74 iaceantur *man. pr. in* S: iacent AR 75 celidis A chauri SR: hauri A: cancri (uel cauri *in marg.*)c 76. alleget cdqt: alget ut et M borreas a resultat M 77 ibiM rishae S: riphei (*alt.* e *supra alt.* i *scr.*) A: rhiphee M frigore μ *Schneider* 78 zephirus AR: Çesirus M regelaverat cdM 79 sidereo q; (o *in ras., deinde paruum spatium vac.*) S: sidere q̃q̃ A: sydereoque bc: sydoreoq; M lira bkmM 80 nidis] mitis *Schrader* cantabit *Postgate:* cantauit SAR *Häussner Lundström:* cantarit a *ed. Ald. Gesner Schneider Wernsdorf:* hyrundo dmqs

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74. **qua canis iaceant urenda pruinis:** cf. 11.3.13 *Igitur solum, quod uere conserere destinauerimus, post autumnum patiemur effosum iacere brumae frigoribus et pruinis inurendum: quippe e contrario sicut calor aestatis, ita uis frigoribus excoquit terram, fermentatamque soluit.*

canis . . . urenda pruinis: for the combination of apparently contradictory terms, cf. Colum. *loc. cit.;* Verg. Georg. 1.93 *Boreae penetrabile frigus adurat;* Liv. 21.40.9 *membra torrida gelu,* 21.32.7 *pecora iumentaque torrida frigore.*

75. **uerberibus gelidis . . . Cauri:** cf. Lucr. 1.272 *Principio venti vis verberat incita pontum,* 6.113 *chartasque volantes | verberibus venti versant;* Hor. *Carm.* 3.1.29 *verberatae grandine vineae.* *Caurus* is the northwest wind; cf. Verg. *Georg.* 3.356 *semper spirantes frigora Cauri.*

76. **alliget . . . Boreas:** cf. Verg. *Georg.* 2.315-316 *Nec tibi tam prudens quisquam persuadeat auctor | tellurem Borea rigidam spirante moverit.*

Eurusque resoluat: the earth is figuratively chained during the winter and released from her bonds in spring; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.4.1 *Solvitur acris hiems grata vice veris et Favoni.* On Eurus as a thawing wind, cf. Lucan, 1.219 *et madidis Euri resolutae flatibus Alpes.*

77. **Riphaeae . . . brumae:** a specific term to indicate cold in general. Cf. Val. Fl. 5.603 *atque ubi Riphaea stupuerunt flumina bruma.* The *montes Riphaei,* in Scythia, stood proverbially for the extreme north.

77f. For the general thought, cf. 11.3.11 *Sed curabimus, ut ager, quem vere conseri oportet, autumno circa Calend. Novembres pastinetur: quem deinde*

of hoary frosts, laid bare to the rage and cold lashes of Caurus, to be fettered by savage Boreas and released by Eurus. Later, when cloudless Zephyrus with his balmy breezes has thawed the numbing frosts of the Riphaean winter, and the Lyre, plunged in the deep, departs from the starry heavens; and when the swallow in her nest proclaims the coming of spring, then let the

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velimus autumno instituere, mense Maio conuertemus, ut aut hiemis frigoribus, aut aestivis solibus et gleba soluatur, et radices herbarum necentur: nec multo ante stercorare debebimus.

78. **frigora . . . Zephyrus regelauerit:** Favonius was called Zephyrus by the Greeks, according to Plin. *N.H.* 18.337. Cf. Verg. *Georg.* 2.330 *zephyrique tepentibus austris | laxant arva sinus,* 1.44 *zephyro putris se glaeba resolvit;* Hor. *Carm.* 3.7.1-2 *Quid fles, Asterie, quem tibi, candida | primo restituent vere Favonii?* 4.7.9 *frigora mitescunt zephyri;* Catull. 46.2 *iam caeli furor aequinoctialis | iucundis Zephyri silescit auris,* 64.282 *aura parit flores tepidi fecunda Favoni.* Columella tells us (8.11.7, 11.2.15) that Favonius begins to blow about the middle of February, and Varro (*Rust.* 1.28.2) fixes the date at nearly the same time—46 days before the vernal equinox.

79. **Lyra:** Varro, *Rust.* 2.5.12 *quod Graeci vocant λύραν, fidem nostri.* This constellation was placed in the heavens, according to legend, in honor of Orpheus (Hyg. *Astr.* 2.7, 3.6). Columella tells us (11.2.14; cf. Ov. *Fast.* 2.75f.) that it begins to set on the first day of February, and that its setting is complete on Feb. 3rd (*III Non. Feb.*).

80. **cantabit:** I have long inclined to this reading for the ms. *cantavit,* and am glad to find the support of Postgate and of Lundström's later recognition of *cantabit* as the better form ("De nyaste textkritiska, etc." *Eranos* 6.69). While a good case can be made for *cantarit,* adopted by many, this reading suits *cedet,* with which it is more closely joined, and is easy paleographically. Similar confusion of *b* and *v* is found in all the mss., e. g. in 46 (madebit] madeuit A), 88 (glebis] gleuis A), 101 (purpurat auro] purpuratabo SAR), 106 (bulbi] bului A), 178 (corambe] coramue SAR).

The nesting of the swallow as a harbinger of spring is a commonplace. Cf. Verg. *Georg.* 4.307 *ante | garrula quam tignis nidum suspendat hirundo;* Hor. *Carm.* 4.12.5 *nidum ponit, Ityn flebiliter gemens, | infelix avis; Epist.* 1.7.13 *te, dulcis amice, reviset | cum Zephyris, si concedes, et hirundine prima;* Ov. *Fast.* 1.157 *ignotaque prodit hirundo, | et luteum celsa sub trabe figit opus,* 2.853 *Fallimur? an veris praenuntia venit hirundo;* Calp. *Ecl.* 5.16-17 *Vere novo, cum iam tinnire volucres | incipient nidosque reversa lutabit hirundo;* Avien. *Orb. Terr.* 706 *Nam cum vere novo tellus se dura relaxat, | culminibusque*

rudere tum pingui solido uel stercore aselli
armentiue fimo saturet ieiunia terrae,
ipse ferens holitor diruptos pondere qualos,
pabula nec pudeat fisso praebere nouali,
immundis quaecunque uomit latrina cloacis.
Densaque iam pluuiis durataque summa pruinis
aequora dulcis humi repetat mucrone bidentis.
Mox bene cum glebis uiuacem cespitis herbam
contundat marrae uel fracti dente ligonis,

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82 seturet A terra A 83 diruptos **SA**: diductos **a** *ed. Ald. Wernsdorf:* deductos **R** qualos **R**: quales **Sbms**: quata **A** 84 pigeat **acqM** (pudeat *in marg.*)**μt**: pudeat (*in marg.* pigeat) **d** fesso **mM**: (i *supra* e *scr.*) **d**: *in marg.* **μ** pigeat fesso *ed. Ald. Gesner Schneider Wernsdorf* 85 inmundi // s **A** quaecunque **SA**: quaecumque **μ** 86 pluuiis **S**: puluis **AR**: puluuis **d** 88 gleuis (b *supra* u *scr. man. alt.*) **A** uiuacū **S**: uiua cum **A** 89 contundant **ap** marem (*alt.* m *expunct.*)**c**: mannȩ **b**: narrae **μ**: *om.* **a** fracti] frangat *Wernsdorf:* tracti *Gesner*

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cavis blandum strepit ales hirundo; Pentad. *de Adventu Veris* 2.17 (*Anth. Lat.* ed. Riese, I. 235) *Nota tigilla linit iam garrula luce chelidon.* Pliny says that swallows are first seen on the 22nd of February (*N. H.* 2.122). Columella associates the coming of the swallow with the rising of Favonius (11.3.5), and says (11.2.21) that these birds are first seen on Feb. 20th. For a recent discussion of the subject, with numerous examples and many references, see E. S. McCartney, "The Folk Calendar of Times and Seasons," *C. W.* 16.3.

81. **rudere**: Palladius (1.9.4) defines the word: *Tunc super statuminabis rudus, id est saxa contusa duabus partibus et una calcis temperante constitues.*

stercore aselli: the best kind of fertilizer, says Colum. 11.3.12: *Optimum vero stercus est ad hunc usum aselli, quia minimum herbarum creat: proximum uel armenti, uel ouium, si sit anno maceratum.* Cf. 2.14.4 *nam optimum <stercus> existimatur, quod asinus facit: quoniam id animal lentissime mandit, ideoque facilius concoquit, et bene confectum atque idoneum protinus aruo fimum reddit;* and see the entire chapter for a discussion of the relative merits of various kinds of fertilizer.

82. **fimo saturet**: cf. Verg. *Georg.* 1.80 *ne saturare fimo pingui pudeat sola.*

83. **qualos**: a Vergilian word: *Georg.* 2.241 *Tu . . . spisso vimine qualos . . . deripe.*

gardener, bearing baskets bursting with their load, satiate the hungriness of the earth with rich lime or with the unmixed dung of the ass or the manure of the ox; and let him not be ashamed to furnish as nutriment for the newly plowed furrow all that the outhouse pours forth from its foul sewers. Let him attack again with the points of the two-pronged hoe the surface of the fresh earth, packed down by rains and hardened by frosts. Then let him thoroughly break to pieces with the teeth of the weeding-hook or bent grub-axe the long-lived clumps of sod together

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84. **pabula**: Vergil makes a like figurative use of the word in *Georg.* 1.86 *pabula terrae | pinguia concipiunt.*

pudeat: the older editors, following the inferior mss., read *pigeat.* But Columella, whose imitation of Vergil is everywhere apparent and avowed, certainly had in mind *Georg.* 1.80 (see on 82, *supra*).

fisso . . . nouali: *fesso,* the reading of a few late mss. and of the older editors, is not consistent with *novale* (a newly broken field), unless it be *pluuiis defessum* (see 46). I have adopted *fisso,* with Lundström and others, as better attested by the mss. and more suited to the sense. The verb *findere* is often used in this connection, e. g. Hor. *Carm.* 1.1.11 *Gaudentem patrios findere sarculo | agros;* Verg. *Aen.* 10.295 *inimicam findite rostris | hanc terram.*

87. **aequora**: for *aequor* meaning a level surface of land, cf. Verg. *Georg.* 1.97 *proscisso quae suscitat aequore terga,* 1.50 *At prius ignotum ferro quam scindimus aequor; Aen.* 7.81 *aequore campi;* Avien. *Orb. Terr.* 1239 *Aequora terrarum gravibus componere rastris.*

dulcis humi: as above, 46; and see note on 9f.

repetat: because the soil has been first broken before the coming of winter.

88. **uiuacem caespitis herbam**: cf. Ov. *Fast.* 4.397 *vivax de caespite gramen;* Paul. Fest., p. 39 Lindsay: *caespes est terra in modum lateris caesa cum herba, sive frutex recisus et truncus.*

89. **fracti . . . ligonis**: the reading of the mss., though followed in nearly all editions, has troubled editors and commentators. Wernsdorf would prefer *frangat dente ligonis,* comparing Verg. *Georg.* 2.400 *glebam frangere bidentibus.* Schneider suggests *fractam.* Gesner had previously proposed *tracti* or *forte,* although admitting that the *ligo* might be called *fractus* from the shape of the implement. The lexicons, citing the passage, explain that *ligo* is called *fractus* from the bent form of the iron; so also Daremberg et Saglio, comparing Stat. *Theb.* 3.587 *incurvi . . . ligones.*

putria maturi soluantur ut ubera campi.
Tunc quoque trita solo splendentia sarcula sumat
angustosque foros aduerso limite ducens
rursus in obliquum distinguat tramite paruo.
  Verum ubi iam puro discrimine pectita tellus
desposito squalore nitens sua semina poscet,
pingite tunc uarios, terrestria sidera, flores,
candida leucoia et flauentia lumina calthae

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90 ut] et a   91 trito μ sumant SR: summant A   tunc tritura solum s. s. s. *Schneider*   92 foras M limitte M   93 distinguit a   94 petita b   95 poscit *ed. Ald. Gesner Schneider*   96 pingite tunc (*ex* pingit etunc *corr.*) S: pingit etunc   A: pingit et in R *ed. Ald.*: pangite *Gesner Wernsdorf Schneider*   sydera cm: terestria sydera M   97 leucoya c lamina A

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90. **putria . . . ubera campi:** i. e. *mammae matris terrae*, poetic for top-soil. In speaking of the breasts of mother earth, Columella continues the personification (see 70 and note) which runs throughout the poem. Cf. Colum. 3.21.3 *alma tellus annua uice uelut aeterno quodam puerperio laeta mortalibus distenta musto demittit ubera;* Verg. *Georg.* 2.185 *fertilis ubere campus.* The adjective *puter* is often applied to *glaeba, tellus, solum*, etc. to denote mellowness of soil, e. g. Verg. *Georg.* 1.44, 2.204; *Aen.* 8.596; Prop. 4.3.39; Colum. 2.8.10.

91. Cf. Ov. *Fast.* 4.927 *Sarcula nunc durusque bidens et vomer aduncus, | ruris opes, niteant;* Verg. *Georg.* 1.45–46 *depresso incipiat iam tum mihi taurus aratro | ingemere et sulco attritus splendescere vomer.*

92. **foros:** i. e. *areas*, garden beds. Palladius says (1.34.7), on the laying out of a garden: *Areae faciendae sunt angustiores et longae, id est duodecim pedum longitudine, et sex latitudine ut sint propter spatia utrinque purganda divisae.* Cf. Colum. 11.3.13 *et circa Idus Ianuarias humus refossa in areas diuiditur; quae tamen sic informandae sunt, ut facile runcantium manus ad dimidiam partem latitudinis earum perueniant, ne qui prosequuntur herbas, semina proculcare cogantur; sed potius per semitas ingrediantur, et alterna uice dimidias areas eruncent.* Cato, *Agr.* 161, and Pliny, *N. H.* 19.60, give directions similar in general.

93. **rursus in obliquum:** "wiederum in die Breite," as Voss interprets Verg. *Georg.* 1.98 *rursus in obliquum verso perrumpit aratro.*

94. **uerum ubi:** a common conjunctive phrase in Vergil, e. g. *Georg.* 1.417; *Aen.* 3.670.

with the lumps of earth, that the soft breasts of the marriage-ripe field may be unbound. Then, too, let him take up the glittering hoes polished by the soil, and after marking out narrow beds with a path at right angles let him divide them transversely once again with a small cross-path.

But when the earth, her locks now combed and cleanly parted, casts off her dirty garb and in bright new dress demands her seed, adorn her then with a variety of flowers, the stars of earth, the white snowdrop and the golden-eyed marigold, the tresses of

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puro discrimine pectita tellus: *discrimine*, i. e. 'hair' or, better, the 'part' in the hair, a rare meaning of the word but found in Ovid, *Ars* 2.302 *Compositum discrimen erit; discrimen lauda.* Cf. *acus discriminalis* (Hier. Ruf. 3.42), a pointed toilet article used for parting the hair. The figure, repeated in verses 149 and 165, is that of levelling off (combing) the garden with hoe or rake and marking it out in paths or furrows. Cf. Avien. *Orb. Terr.* 1239 *Aequora terrarum gravibus componere rastris.*

95. The figure of mother earth changing from her drab winter dress to new spring raiment is reminiscent of Hor. *Carm.* 4.7.3 *mutat terra vices.*

tellus . . . nitens: cf. Verg. *Georg.* 1.153 *nitentia culta; Aen.* 6.677 *camposque nitentes.*

semina poscet: cf. Verg. *Georg.* 2.324 *vere tument terrae et genitalia semina poscunt.*

96. **pingite:** sc. *in terra.* Some, perhaps influenced by the occurrence of *pange* (of the sowing of lettuce) in 192-193, have changed to *pangite* as easier of interpretation. But all the mss. point to *pingite*, and this reading should be retained. The verb is often used in this sense. Cf. 256 *uersicoloribus anni | fetibus alma parens pingi sua tempora gaudet;* Lucr. 2.375 *pingere telluris gremium*, 5.1396 *tempora pingebant viridantis floribus herbas;* Sen. *Med.* 310 *stellis pingitur aether; Culex* 70 *florida cum tellus, gemmantis picta per herbas;* Asmen. *de Laud. Hort.* 12 *Pinguntque terram gemmeis honoribus; Anon. Epist. of Dido to Aeneas* (*Anth. Lat.* ed. Riese, I, 83), 80 *Pictus ager sub flore latet.*

terrestria sidera: cf. 288-293.

97. **flauentia lumina calthae:** cf. 307 *flammeola calta*, and 258 *loti gemmantia lumina.*

97f. Cf. in general 9.4.4 *At in hortensi lira consita nitent candida lilia, nec his sordidiora leucoia, tum puniceae rosae, luteolaeque, et Sarranae uiolae, nec minus caelestis luminis hyacinthus, Corycius item Siculusque bulbus croci deponitur, qui coloret odoretque mella.*

narcissique comas et hiantis saeua leonis
ora feri calathisque uirentia lilia canis
nec non uel niueos uel caeruleos hyacinthos.
Tum quae pallet humi, quae frondens purpurat auro,
ponatur uiola et nimium rosa plena pudoris.
Nunc medica panacem lacrima, sucoque salubri
glaucea et profugos uinctura papauera somnos

98 narcisiq; **csM** 99 chalatisque **SA**: calatisque **cμM** uirentia] nitentia *Gesner* 100 hyiacinthos **S**: hyacintos **M** 101 Tu quae *ed. Ald.* pallet] pelle **c** frondes **SA** purpurat auro **p**: (aut tabo *ascr.*) **c**: (tabo *suprascr.*) **d**: purpuratabo *uel* purpura tabo **SAbsμ**: purpurattabo (*pr.* t *del. man. pr. et* bo *in ras.*) **M**: purpurat tabo **a**: purpurat albo *Heinsius:* frondent purpura et auro *Ursinus* 103 panicem **M** lachrima **d** succoq; **dM** 104 Glaugea (c *supra* g *postea scr.*) **A**: Glaucea **a** profugus **M**: profusos **aμ**: pfusus **A** iunctura **dμM**: uinctora (v *supra* o *scr. man. alt.*) **A**

98. **hiantis saeua leonis ora feri:** note the interlocked word order. The flower is again mentioned in 260. Wernsdorf points out that *hiare* may be said of any flower of spreading calyx, citing Prop. 4.2.45 *Nec flos hiat pratis,* and Ov. *Ars* 2.115, where some codices have *hiantia lilia* (but *ianthina lilia,* Ehwald).

narcissique comas: so in 297, and cf. Verg. *Georg.* 4.122 *comantem narcissum;* Ov. *Fast.* 5.225 *Tu quoque nomen habes cultos, Narcisse, per hortos.* For the well-known story of the origin of the flower, see Ov. *Met.* 3.407f.

99. **calathisque uirentia lilia canis:** *calathis* refers to the cup-shaped calyxes of lilies, white in color, not to baskets as some have thought, comparing Verg. *Ecl.* 2.45 *tibi lilia plenis ecce ferunt nymphae calathis.* So Columella speaks also of the cup-shaped flower (*calathus*) of the *cinara* in 240. *Virentia* has to do not with the color, but with the freshness of the flower. So Horace, *Carm.* 4.13.6f., of the fresh bloom of a maiden's cheeks, *uirentis . . . Chiae pulchris . . . in genis;* and cf. *uirent conuiuia* of 128, below. Gesner's suggestion of *nitentia* is approved but not followed by Schneider.

100. **hyacinthos:** cf. Pallad. 1.37.2 *hyacinthum, qui iris vel gladiolus dicitur similitudine foliorum.* Columella seems to refer to two varieties of iris, the second of which he elsewhere describes as *caelestis luminis hyacinthus* (9.4.4) and *ferruginei* (305, *infra*). The blood-red flowers of Aeacus (175, see note) are probably the same; cf. Nemes. *Ecl.* 2.45 *dulce rubens hyacinthus;* Dioscorides, 4.63. Thiselton-Dyer (in Sandy's *Companion to Latin Studies,* article "Flora," p. 70) thinks that the oriental hyacinth, a native of Syria, is here meant.

the daffodil, the fierce gaping jaws of the savage lion's-mouth and lilies blooming with white calyxes, as well as hyacinths either snowy-white or dark in color. Then let there be set out the violet, which is pale upon the ground, which puts forth foliage of purple and gold, and the rose blushing too deep with shame. Scatter now the seeds of the catholicon with its healing tears and celandine with its wholesome sap, and the poppy which

101. **purpurat auro:** cf. *Pervig. Ven.* 13 *Ipsa gemmis purpurantem pingit annum floridis.*

102. **ponatur:** = *disponatur,* i. e. transplanted. Cf. Colum. *de Arb.* 30. 2 *Rosam fructibus ac surculis disponi per sulcos pedales convenit per idem tempus, quo et viola.*

uiola: Pliny, in his description of violets (*N. H.* 21.27), names several varieties: *purpureae, luteae, albae, plantis omnes satae.* The white violet, he says (*id.* 64) is the first of flowers to announce the arrival of spring; then come the purple (*ion*), and next the flame-colored (*phlox*). On the paleness of the violet, cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 2.47 *pallentis violas;* Hor. *Carm.* 3.10.14 *tinctus viola pallor amantium;* Nemes. *Ecl.* 2.47 *Pallidior buxo, violaeque simillimum erro.*

rosa plena pudoris: the rose as a symbol of modesty is a commonplace, e. g. *Culex* 399 *et rosa purpureum crescens pudibunda; Pervig. Ven.* 19 *En pudorem florulentae prodiderunt purpureae.* Cf. also 261 and 287, with notes.

103. **medica panacem lacrima:** Plin. *N. H.* 25.30, referring to its Greek derivation, *panaces ipso nomine omnium morborum remedia promittit.* Tears are ascribed to the plant because its juice oozes out when the stalk or root is cut (Plin. *N. H.* 12.127).

104. **glaucea:** *chelidonium glaucium* of Linnaeus. So called because of its bluish-green color (γλαύκειον). Pliny (*N. H.* 20.206) mentions its healing properties, and says (*N. H.* 27.83) that it is native to Syria and Parthia, similar in foliage to the poppy, and used as a cure for warts, jaundice, etc. On its medicinal value, see also Scrib. Larg. 22.

profugos uinctura papauera somnos: the effect of opium was well known to the ancients. Cf. Verg. *Georg.* 1.78 *Lethaeo perfusa papavera somno; Aen.* 4.486 *soporiferumque papaver;* Ov. *Am.* 2.6.31 *causaeque papavera somni; Trist.* 5.2.24 *quotve soporiferum grana papavera habet;* Baehrens' *Poet. Lat. Min.* 81.7 (attributed to Petronius) *non sollicitos missura papavera somnos;* Cels. 2.32 *Somno vero aptum est papaver;* Symph. 40 (*Papaver*) *et me somnus amat.*

spargite, quaeque uiros acuunt armantque puellis,
iam Megaris ueniant genitalia semina bulbi,
et quae Sicca legit Getulis obruta glebis,
et quae frugifero seritur uicina Priapo,
excitet ut Veneri tardos eruca maritos.
Iam breue chaerepolum et torpenti grata palato
intiba, iam teneris frondens lactucula fibris
aliaque infractis spicis et olentia late

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105 sparcite A ac | cuunt A armentq; **cdM:** animantque *Gesner* puellas M *ed. Ald. Gesner Wernsdorf* 106 bului (b *supra alt.* u *scr. man. alt.*) A 107 eaq; sicca A legit] iacet *vel* latet *Gesner* 108 uincina (n *postea exp.*) A 109 uereri tardo seruca A 110 chae repulum (*in vacuo spatio mendum membr.*) A: cheropolum **ad:** cherepolim **c:** cheropodum **M:** chaerophylum *Gesner Wernsdorf Schneider:* chaerephylum *ed. Ald.* grato (a *supra* o *man. alt.*) A 111 intiba SAμ: intuba R cichorea VB frondens et lactula **Sa:** frondes // et lactula A 112 aliaquae **S:** aliaq; **cqM:** alliaque AR

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105. **armantque puellis:** some editors have *puellas*, and Curtius translates, "and put modest young ladies on their guard." It seems best, however, to take *uiros* as object of the verb, and *puellis* as dat. of reference.

106. Bulbs were anciently so well known as provocatives that writers seem to have thought it needless to mention their names. Pliny (*N. H.* 19.93) rates the *scilla* or *squilla*, the sea-onion, among the first, and mentions a few others with Greek names. Those of Megara, between Athens and Corinth, were most commended. Plin. *N. H.* 20.105 *Venerem maxime Megarici stimulant; id.* 19.93 *<Bulbos> Cato in primis serendos praecepit celebrans Megaricos;* Cato, *Agr.* 8.2. The usefulness of bulbs in general is noted by many writers, e. g. Ov. *Ars* 2.421f.; *Rem.* 795f.; Mart. 3.75.3, 13.34; Petron. 130; Marcell. *Med.* 33, 46; Apic. 7.10.

genitalia semina bulbi: cf. Plin. *N. H.* 19.97 *Bulbos non nasci nisi e semine priores tradiderunt, sed et in Praenestinis campis sponte nascuntur ac sine modo etiam in Remorum arvis.* The adjective is causative in force. For similar uses of the adjective, cf. 196 *genitalia tempora;* Verg. *Georg.* 2.324 *genitalia semina poscunt.*

107. **Sicca . . . Getulis . . . glebis:** the Getuli were a people of northwestern Africa, south of Numidia. Columella seems to have in mind a

will capture fugitive sleep; and now may there come from Megara the aphrodisiac seeds of the bulb that sharpen men's desires and make them fit for maidens, and those which, buried in Getulian soil, Sicca harvests, and rocket which is sown near fruitful Priapus to arouse sluggish husbands to love. Now may there come the stocky chervil and endive pleasing to a torpid palate, now the leafy lettuce with its tender filaments, and garlic in compact tufts, and leeks which smell afar and which a clever

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variety of bulb grown in this part of Africa and praised by Pliny (*N. H.* 19.95) and by Ovid (*Rem.* 797 *Libycis bulbus tibi missus ab oris*).

108. **frugifero . . . Priapo:** the statue of Priapus crowned with fruits. See *Priap.* 52.20 (*Poet. Lat. Min.* ed. Baehrens, I) and note on 32.

109. *Eruca*, as a quickener of love, is properly placed near Priapus' statue. Martial (3.75.3) mentions the herb as a powerful aphrodisiac; Ovid (*Rem.* 799) calls it *eruca salax*, as also Columella in 372, *infra;* and *Moretum*, 85, has *Venerem revocans eruca morantem.* For similar testimony, cf. Ov. *Ars* 2.421-423; Mart. 10.48.10; Plin. *N. H.* 19.154, 20.126; Marcell. *Med.* 33.12, 46, 47, 50.

110. **breue chaerepolum:** usually transliterated by the Romans as *caerefolium.* The plant receives its name from the luxuriance of its leaves (χαιρέφυλλον). It is called *breve* because it runs to foliage instead of to stalk; Plin. *N. H.* 19.170. Palladius, 3.24.9, says that it should be sown after the Ides of February.

111. **(torpenti grata palato) intiba:** endive was much in use as an appetizer. Vergil (*Georg.* 1.120) describes it as bitter in taste.

lactucula: probably young lettuce. Some, however, as Schneider, have taken it to be a different but related plant in view of the fact that several varieties of lettuce and the time of its sowing are mentioned later (179f.). Schneider thinks that *sonchus*, described by Pliny (*N. H.* 22.88) as similar to lettuce, is here meant. Palladius (1.30.1) speaks of *lactucula* as suitable roughage for geese, and Suetonius (*Aug.* 77) mentions *lactuculae thyrsum* as an article of Augustus' diet.

112. **aliaque infractis spicis:** i. e. with compact leaves. Cf. 11.3.20 *Habet <ulpicum>, velut allium, plures cohaerentes spicas, eaeque cum sint divisae, liratim seri debent.*

olentia late | ulpica: cf. Verg. *Georg.* 4.30 *olentia late | serpulla;* Mart. 13.18.1 *Fila Tarentini graviter redolentia porri.*

ulpica quaeque fabis habilis fabrilia miscet.
Iam siser Assyrioque uenit quae semine radix
sectaque praebetur madido sociata lupino,
ut Pelusiaci proritet pocula zythi.
Tempore non alio uili quoque salgama merce
capparis et tristes inulae ferulaeque minaces
plantantur, nec non serpentia gramina mentae

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114 iser assirio que **M**: assirioque **S**: assyrio quae **A**μ qua semine **SAabmM**: qua semina μ 115 sextaque (x *postea in* c *corr.*) **S** saciata **cM**: satiata **d** 116 zithi **abm**: pecula cithi **M** 118 caparis **M** tristis **SAR** *Lundström:* tristes *edd plerique* inulęq; minaces (*om.* ferulae) **SA** ferulesq; **dq** 119 non *om.* **A** mente **SAM**

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113. **ulpica:** closely related to *allium* and, according to Pliny (*N. H.* 19.112), called *allium Cyprium* by the Greeks. Columella says (11.3.20) that some call it *allium Punicum* and that it is of much greater growth than *allium.*

quaeque . . . miscet: the clause has been something of a puzzle to commentators. Wernsdorf interprets it as referring to another, but unnamed, herb commonly used for the seasoning of beans (*fabis habilis*), to produce an article of diet for the workingman (*fabrilia miscet*). On the use of the verb he compares 262 <*rosa*> *in templis Sabaeum miscet odorem.* The unnamed herb he takes to be *cunila* or *satureia* which was much in use for seasoning (Colum. 9.4.2, 11.3.57). Schneider suggests beets as the plant, citing Mart. 13.13 (*fabrorum prandia, betae*) and the emendation of an earlier commentator (G. Pelisserius apud Turnebum XVII. 22, *quaeque habilis est fabrilibus escis*), or dried grapes, or bulbs (Apic. 8.7). I take *quae* as acc. plur., direct object of *miscet,* and the clause as a second modifier of *ulpica.* On beans as the mark of a frugal table, cf. Hor. *Serm.* 2.6.63; Mart. 10.48.16, 13.7. Leeks combined with legumes were also known as a common dish of the poor, e. g. Hor. *Serm.* 1.6.114-115 *inde domum me* | *ad porri et ciceris refero laganique catinum;* Apic. 3.10.

114. **Assyrioque . . . radix:** what the root was, is difficult to determine. Columella speaks elsewhere (11.3.16 and 59) of *radix Syriaca.* Schneider, in a lengthy note on the latter passage, taking into account all previous comments on the subject and the evidence in Columella himself and in other writers, concludes that the root was Linnaeus' *raphanus,* Germ. *Rettig* (our radish). Thiselton-Dyer (in Sandys' *Comp. Lat. Stud.,* p. 79), citing

cook mixes with beans as fare for the workingman. Now comes the parsnip and that root of Syrian origin, which, when cut and joined to the sodden lupine, is used as a whet for draughts of Pelusiac beer. And at no other time are planted the caper bush and bitter elecampane and the menacing giant fennel, to produce pickles at little expense; now too, the creeping mint is scattered,

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this passage, gives it the name of 'skirret,' here distinguished from *siser* (parsnip) "with which it has been identified."

venit: i. e. grows, shoots forth, as often in the poem (171, 178, 236, 372, 412). Cf. Verg. *Georg.* 1.54 *Hic segetes, illic veniunt felicius uvae,* 2.11 *sponte sua veniunt* <*arbores*>; Prop. 1. 2.10 *ut veniant hederae sponte sua melius.*

116. **Pelusiaci . . . zythi:** Pelusium was an ancient Egyptian city at the mouth of the Nile. Pomponius (apud Gesner *ad. loc.*) relates that Diodorus said that Bacchus in his travels around the world taught the manufacture and use of wine; and where the climate or character of the soil was not productive of the vine he concocted another potion called *zitum.* This also Osiris taught in Egypt and Thrace. Pliny (*N. H.* 22.164) also ascribes *zythum* to Egypt.

117. **Tempore non alio:** i. e. at the coming of spring, 77f. Cf. Verg. *Georg.* 3.245 *Tempore non alio.*

salgama: the buds and small berrylike fruit of the caper (12.7.1; Mart. 3.77.5), the roots of elecampane (12.48), and the blossoms and young stalks of fennel (12.7.1,4) were put down in wine or vinegar to make inexpensive (*uili merce*) pickles or sauce.

118. **tristes inulae:** elecampane is called *tristis* because of its bitter, acid taste, like Vergil's *tristes lupini* (*Georg.* 1.75). Horace speaks of *acidas inulas* (*Serm.* 2.2.44) and of *inulas amaras* (*Serm.* 2.8.51); cf. Plin. *N. H.* 19.91 *torosior amariorque inula per se stomacho inimicissima.*

inulae ferulaeque minaces: the true reading is preserved in the late mss. The corruption in SA is obviously due to homeoteleuton, as Lundström notes (*Eranos* 4. 182).

ferulaeque minaces: cf. 21, note, and Mart. 14.80 (*Ferulae*) *Invisae nimium pueris grataeque magistris,* | *clara Prometheo munere ligna sumus.*

119. **mentae:** so called, according to the myth (Ov. *Met.* 10.729), from Menthe or Minthe, a nymph who was changed by Proserpina into the plant. Cf. Plin. *N. H.* 19.159 *mentae nomen suavitas odoris apud Graecos mutavit, cum alioqui mintha vocaretur, unde veteres nostri nomen declinaverunt. Grata tomento mensas odore percurrit in rusticis dapibus.*

serpentia gramina mentae: parallel in construction to Verg. *Georg.* 4.63 *cerinthae ignobile gramen.* The genitive is epexegetical.

et bene odorati flores sparguntur anethi
rutaque Palladiae bacae iutura saporem
seque lacessenti fletum factura sinapis
atque holeris pulli radix lacrimosaque caepa
ponitur et lactis gustus quae condiat herba,
deletura quidem fronti data signa fugarum,
uimque suam idcirco profitetur nomine Graio.
Tum quoque conseritur, toto quae plurima terrae
orbe uirens pariter plebi regique superbo

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120 odorat A (e *adscr. man. alt.*) S spargantur M: parguntur a antethi (*pr.* t *postea exp*) S: anthethi A 121 ruraq; c palladia ebace A uictura ac *ed. Ald. Gesner:* uitura dμ 122 sedq; cq: sed quę d 123 oleris bcd 124 gustius (*corr. ex* guttius *ut vid.*) M: custus (c *in* g *mut. man.2*) S: gustum *ed. Ald. Gesner Wernsdorf Schneider:* clistus (cl *in ras.*; *antea* sustus *scr. fuit, ut videtur*) A condat M 125 deletura SAa: deiectura R *ed. Ald.* fugarum p: fucarum SAR *ed. Ald.* 126 Graio] grati A: grayo c 127 consertur SAM 128 pleui (u *in* b *mut. man. alt.*) S

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120. **bene odorati flores . . . anethi:** cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 2.48 *florem . . . bene olentis anethi.*

121. **Palladiae bacae:** the olive, so called because sacred to the Greek goddess Pallas Athene. So *Palladia amurca* (353), and often of the tree or its fruit, e. g. Verg. *Georg.* 2.181 *Palladia gaudent silva vivacis olivae; Aen.* 7.154 *ramis Palladis;* Ov. *Ars* 2.518 *bacas Palladis arbor habet; Met.* 8.664 *sincerae baca Minervae;* Mart. 1.76.7 *Palladis arbor.* Rue is mentioned by Palladius (12.22.5) as a seasoning for the olive, and as a garnish or seasoning by others, e. g. Cato, *Agr.* 119; Colum. 12.7.5; Mart. 10.48.11, 11.52.8. The reading *uictura* of a few mss., adopted by some editors, may be due to the influence of Verg. *Georg.* 4. 101-102 *mella . . . et durum Bacchi domitura saporem.*

122. **fletum factura sinapis:** cf. Plin. *N. H.* 19.170 *acerrimum sapore, igneique effectus ac saluberrimum corpori sinapi;* also *id.* 20.236. Serenus Sammonicus, *de Medicina*, applies to this plant the adjectives *mordax* (67) and *lacrimosum* (588).

123. **holeris pulli radix:** also called *holus* (*olus*) *atrum* (Colum. 11.3.18,

and the flowers of sweet-scented dill, and rue to better the flavor of Pallas' olive, and mustard that will bring tears to the eyes of one disturbing it; and now the root of alexanders is set out, and the tear-bringing onion, and that plant which affects the taste of milk and is useful for removing from the brow the marks of runaways; and for that reason makes its power known under a Greek name. Then also is sown that vegetable which, flourishing in many a form throughout the whole world for lowly peasant

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12.7.1 and 4) and *holusatrum; Smyrnium holusatrum* of Linnaeus. Cf. Plin. *N. H.* 19.162 *Olusatrum mirae naturae est. Hipposelinum Graeci vocant, alii smyrnium. E lacrima caulis sui nascitur. Seritur et radice. Sucum eius colligunt, myrrhae saporem habere dicunt, auctor est Theophrastus murra sata natum.*

lacrimosaque caepa: the adjective is causative, as in Hor. *Carm.* 1.21.13 *bellum lacrimosum; Serm.* 1.5.80 *lacrimoso . . . fumo.* Cf. Plin. *N. H.* 19.101 *omnibus <caepis> etiam odor lacrimosus; Moretum* 84 *caepa rubens.* Symphosius (44) speaks of the 'bite' of the onion.

124. **lactis gustus quae condiat herba:** the plant here described but, for metrical reasons, not named is certainly *lepidium* (pepperwort). Columella elsewhere (11.3.16 and 41) mentions this plant, the times of its sowing and transplanting, and speaks of its uses with milk (12.8.3), as does Pliny (*N. H.* 19.166). Cf. also Plin. *N. H.* 20.181 *Lepidium inter urentia intelligitur. Sic et in facie cutem emendat exulcerando, ut tamen cera et rosaceo facile sanetur. Sic et lepras et psoras tollit semper facile et cicatricum ulcera.* Dioscorides (2.225) also mentions it as a caustic and a remedy for skin disorders. Brands placed on conspicuous parts of the bodies of slaves, especially on the forehead, were removed by caustics or by a surgical operation performed by a doctor (Mart. 10.56.6) or even by a barber (*id.* 6.64.26). If everything else failed, the telltale marks might be covered with 'beauty-plasters,' *splenia* (Mart. 2.29.9, 8.33.22, 10.22.1).

126. **nomine Graio:** the Greek name λεπίδιον because it removes skin eruption (λεπίς).

127ff. Columella here mentions (127-139) fifteen varieties of a potherb known by the general name *brassica* and imperfectly expressed by our word 'cabbage' or 'colewort.' Pliny (*N. H.* 19.136-144) describes several varieties, but takes no notice of others here mentioned. Cato (*Agr.* 156, 157) names three kinds, and gives directions for the preparation of the herb for edible or for medicinal purposes. Martial (5.78.6f., 13.17) speaks of the manner of serving it as a food.

frigoribus caules et ueri cymata mittit:
quae pariunt ueteres caesposo litore Cumae,
quae Marrucini, quae Signia monte Lepino,
pinguis item Capua et Caudinis faucibus horti,
fontibus et Stabiae celebres et Vesuia rura.
Doctaque Parthenope Sebethide roscida lympha,
quae dulcis Pompeia palus uicina salinis

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129 Figoribus M cimata cdμq: cymatha m: criuata M 130 cesposo cq *ed. Ald. Wernsdorf Schneider:* cetoso p (spo *supra* to *postea scr.*) d: caeposo *vel* ceposo SAR: caeposo *Häussner Lundström Postgate* littore R 131 marucini c signa csp lepino *vett. edd. Postgate:* lepimo dqM: lepuno SAR: supino *Schrader* 132 capia (u *supra* i *scr.*)μ horti p: hortis Ss: horris AR 133 scabie aM uesuia R: uesbia S: uespia Aa: 134 parthonope M sebethide *ed Ald.:* sebethride SAR: sebeti de M lympa A: limpha bcdmqM 135 pompeia R: pom peya c: rompheia SAa saliuis M

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129. **ueri:** a locative denoting time when, on the analogy of *heri, vesperi,* . See Lane-Morgan, *A Latin Grammar,* 1341.

cymata: this form probably *metri gratia.* Columella elsewhere (11.3.24, 12.56.3, 12.7.1) and others (e. g. Plin. 19.137, 20.90; Pallad. 5.3.1) employ the first declensional form of the word. In speaking of *brassica* in 11.3.24 Columella distinguishes between *cyma* and *caulis: Nonnulli hanc eandem locis apricioribus a Calend. Martiis deponunt; sed maior pars eius in cymam prosilit, nec postea hibernum caulem amplum facit, cum est semel desecta.*

130. **caesposo litore Cumae:** the adjective is ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, *metri gratia* for *caespitosus,* the natural adjective to *caespes* but not occurring. The plains surrounding Cumae, on the coast of Campania, were of unusual fertility. Pliny (*N. H.* 19.140) describes the *brassica* of Cumae as of low stature, with broad, spreading head and leaves close to the ground.

131. **Marrucini:** a nation of central Italy. The *ager Marrucinus* was noted for the excellence of its fruit and vegetables, according to Plin. *N. H.* 15.82.

Signia: an ancient town of Latium, known for its wine (Sil. 8.379; Mart. 13.116; Plin. *N. H.* 14.65).

Lepino: apparently the only occurrence of this word or its variant *Lepuno,* as Schneider notes. Häussner reads *Lepuno,* but marks the word with a dagger. Lundström (*Eranos* 4.183) defends *Lepino* for the reason that the

and haughty king alike, puts forth its stalks in winter and its tender sprouts in spring; this ancient Cumae produces on her grassy shores, and the Marrucini, and Signia on the Lepine Mount, also fertile Capua and the gardens at the Caudine Forks, and Stabiae famous for its springs, and the Vesuvian country; cultured Naples too, wet with the waters of the Sebethos, produces this, and the fresh Pompeian marshes near to the salt pits

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mountain on which Signia (modern Segni) was located is now called "Monti Lepini."

132. **Capua:** one of the most celebrated cities of ancient Italy, the capital of Campania.

Caudinis faucibus: Caudium was an ancient city of Samnium, famed for the narrow mountain pass where the Roman army met defeat in the Second Samnite War (Liv. 9.2).

133. **Stabiae:** a small village of Campania in the neighborhood of Pompeii, incidentally noticed by Pliny (*N. H.* 3.70) and Ovid (*Met.* 15.711) but not mentioned by the geographers.

Vesuia rura: Häussner and Lundström alone, of important editors, follow the reading of S. Columella clearly refers to the fertile slopes of Vesuvius.

134. **doctaque Parthenope:** ancient Palaepolis (Neapolis), so named from Parthenope, one of the Sirens (Plin. *N. H.* 3.62; Sil. 12.33-34). As a center of Greek learning it attracted many grammarians; hence called *docta* by Columella and by Martial (5.78.14). Its mild climate made it a favorite resort for rest and recreation; cf. Verg. *Georg.* 4.563-564 *Illo Vergilium me tempore dulcis alebat | Parthenope, studiis florentem ignobilis oti.* Horace (*Epod.* 5.43) calls it *otiosa Neapolis,* and Ovid (*Met.* 15.711), *in otia natam Parthenopem.*

Sebethide . . . lympha: a small stream of Campania, flowing into the Bay of Naples, near the city. It is mentioned by several ancient writers in connection with the city (e. g. Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.263; Vib. Seq. *Geogr.* p. 18, ed. Oberlin).

135. **dulcis Pompeia palus:** the plains watered by the Sarnus (Sarno), as most editors believe. This stream is mentioned by Pliny (*N. H.* 3.62) as watering the Pompeian plains at the foot of Mt. Vesuvius. See also Verg. *Aen.* 7.738; Sil. 8.537; Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.265; Vib. Seq. *Geogr.* p. 18 and note, p. 189f., ed. Oberlin; Beloch, *Campanien,* p. 2. Pliny (*N. H.* 19.140) describes this kind of *brassica* as of a taller sort, whose stalk was slender near the root but thickened among the leaves. Its leaves were thinner and narrower than those of other varieties, and were unusually tender.

Herculeis uitreoque Siler qui defluit amni,
quae duri praebent cymosa stirpe Sabelli
et Turni lacus et pomosi Tiburis arua,
Bruttia quae tellus et mater Aricia porri.
Haec ubi credidimus resolutae semina terrae,
adsiduo grauidam cultu curaque fouemus,
ut redeant nobis cumulato faenore messes.
Et primum moneo largos inducere fontis,

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136 Hercules (i *supra alt.* e *scr.*) uitreque A: uterq; M anni cμq: (m *supra pr.* n *scr.*) d 137 cymos asurpes asurpes abelli (*priore verbo* asurpes *del. m. alt.*) A: cimosa dM: dumosa *Schrader* 138 turni SAR: turris VB: Turis *Schneider* tiburis S: triburis A: tyburis R: Tyburis *Schneider* 139 Brutiaq; M ariccia b: aritia μM: Aritia *ed. Ald.* 140 credim; A resolutae Sa: resolute M: resoluta AR 141 adsiduo SAbmμ: assiduo R: asiduo M culto A 142 cũ ulato (*lin. eras. et* m *in vac. sp. add. man. alt.*) A fontis R: fontes SA

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salinis Herculeis: the only mention of salt beds near Herculaneum, but such deposits were common along the coast of Italy (cf. Rut. Nam. 1.475f.).

136. **Siler:** the spelling employed also by Lucan (2.426) and Vibius Sequester (p. 18, Oberlin). A river (the modern Sele) otherwise known (Verg. *Georg.* 3.146; Plin. *N. H.* 2.226; Sil. 8.580) as the Silerus or Silarus, forming the boundary between Campania and Lucania. Its waters, according to Pliny and Silius Italicus, had the power of petrifying substances immersed in them.

137. **duri . . . Sabelli:** the ancient and poetic name of the Sabines. Pliny (*N. H.* 3.107) makes them a colony of the Samnites. The hardiness of the Sabelli, as typifying the old Italian virtues, is well known (Verg. *Georg.* 2.167; Hor. *Carm.* 3.6.38; *Epod.* 2.41; Liv. 1.18.4). Pliny (19.141) describes this variety of *brassica*, which must have been like our 'Brussels sprouts.'

138. **Turni lacus:** not mentioned by the ancient geographers, but Vibius Sequester (p. 18), possibly in error (see Oberlin *ad. loc.*, p. 207f.), lists a river of that name in Umbria. Cluverius (apud Oberlin, *loc. cit.*) sees a connection between the statement of Vibius and this line of our author. Gesner suggests *lacus Juturnae* (cf. Serv. *Aen.* 12.139). Pliny (*N. H.* 19.141) describes the *brassica* of Lacuturris, a place in the valley of Aricia.

pomosi Tiburis arua: the country around this celebrated town of Latium was known for its fruits; cf. Prop. 4.7.81; Hor. *Carm.* 1.7.13; Sil. 4.224.

of Herculaneum, and the Siler which flows with glassy stream; this, with stalks full of shoots, the hardy Sabines produce, and Lacus Turni and the fields of Tibur rich in fruits; the land of the Brutii and Aricia, mother of the scallion, yield it.

When we have intrusted these seeds to the loosened earth, we pamper her, now pregnant, with constant cultivation and care, that there may return to us crops with compound interest. And I remind you at the first to conduct water in abundance, lest

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139. **Bruttia . . . tellus:** the *brassica* of this locality is mentioned by Pliny (*N. H.* 19.140).

mater Aricia porri: cf. Mart. 13.19 *Mittit praecipuos nemoralis Aricia porros.* Pliny (*N. H.* 19.33) says that Egypt produced the finest leeks, those of Ostia and Aricia ranking next. The *brassica* found in the Vallis Aricina is described by Pliny, *N. H.* 19.140.

140. **resolutae . . . terrae:** i. e. released from the bonds of Boreas (76). On the frequency of this verb, as applied to the earth, see 7 and note.

140f. Cf. in general *Moretum* 69-71

Varias disponere plantas
norat et occultae committere semina terrae
vicinosque aptae curvans summittere rivos.

and Verg. *Georg.* 1.104ff.

141. **adsiduo . . . cultu:** cf. Verg. *Georg.* 2.51 *cultu frequenti.*

grauidam (terram): cf. Ov. *Fast.* 4.633-634

nunc gravidum pecus est, gravidae nunc semine terrae:
telluri plenae victima plena datur.

142. **redeant:** sc. *semina* as subject. The faithful stewardship of mother earth is a stock figure. Cf. Cic. *de Sen.* 51 *Habent <agricolae> enim rationem cum terra, quae numquam recusat imperium nec umquam sine usura reddit quod accepit, sed alias minore, plerumque maiore cum faenore;* Ov. *Rem.* 173-174 *Obrue versata Cerealia semina terra,* | *quae tibi cum multo faenore reddat ager; Ars* 2.513; *Fast.* 1.694; Tib. 2.6.21-22 *spes alit agricolas, spes sulcis credit aratis* | *semina quae magno faenore reddat ager;* Colum. 2.1.3 *humus . . . magno foenore cessationis colono respondet;* Plin. *N. H.* 2.155 *quam bona fide <terra> creditum faenus reddit.*

143. **inducere fontis:** irrigation was commonly practiced in ancient Italy; cf., e. g., Verg. *Georg.* 1.106 *deinde satis fluvium inducit, rivosque sequentis;* Ov. *Rem.* 193-194 *Ipse potes riguis plantam deponere in hortis,* | *ipse potes rivos ducere lenis aquae;* Mart. 12.31.2 *hoc riguae ductile flumen aquae;* Asmen.

ne sitis exurat concepto semine partum.
At cum feta suos nexus adaperta resoluit,
florida cum soboles materno pullulat aruo,
primitiis plantae modicos tum praebeat imbres
sedulus inrorans holitor ferroque bicorni
pectat et angentem sulcis exterminet herbam.
At si dumosis positi sunt collibus horti
nec summo nemoris labuntur uertice riui,
aggere praeposito cumulatis area glebis
emineat, sicco ut consuescat puluere planta
nec mutata loco sitiens exhorreat aestus.

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144 esurat a 145 adaperta S: adapto A: ad opta *vel* adoperta R: adoperta *ed. Ald. Wernsdorf Gesner* 146 pululat d aruo] aluo AR (*teste Häussner; false autem, not. Lundström, Er.* 6.67) *ed. Ald. Gesner Wernsdorf* 147 cum cdqM brebeat c imbrib; A 148 irrorans dM 149 exterminat M 150 orti c 151 uertice R: cortice SA 152 reposito *maluit Gesner* 153 ut] et M 154 mutate A exhorrea d estus *vel* ęstus R: aestu SA *Häussner Lundström*: aestus *ed. Ald. Schneider Wernsdorf Postgate* sitiens] siccos *ed. Ald. Wernsdorf*

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de Laud. Hort. 10 *sulcoque ductus irrigat rivus sata.* On the use of the infinitive, see Lane-Morgan, *A Latin Grammar*, 1954.

144. **sitis:** = *siccitas*, but paralleled in 11.3.9 *et sitis aestatis restinguitur fontibus.* Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 7.57 *Aret ager; vitio moriens sitit aeris herba.*

exurat: for similar uses of the verb, cf. Verg. *Georg.* 1.107 *exustus ager; id.* 3.432 *exusta palus;* Sall. *Iug.* 19.6 *loca exusta solis ardoribus;* Hor. *Epod.* 16.55 *Pinguia nec siccis urantur semina glaebis.*

145. **adaperta:** similar disagreement among the mss. is found in 239, *infra*, where mss. of the R class again have *adoperta*. Either reading will translate with good sense, but that of S is in better keeping with the context at this point. The figure of the earth in travail is repeated in 157 and 208.

feta . . . resoluit: cf. Ov. *Fast.* 4.88 *fetaque terra patet.*

146. **materno . . . aruo:** *aluo*, the reading of AR, according to Häussner, and followed by some editors, is attractive and well suited to the figure, but is correctly rejected by Schneider because of its gender (fem.), used by Columella and others of his time (cf. 232 *male sana aluus*).

dryness burn up the embryo in the sprouting seed. But when the earth, heavy with young and in travail, loosens her folds, when the gay offspring now comes forth from the maternal soil, then should the farmer, watering them diligently, furnish moisture in proper measure to the first shoots of the plant, and with two-pronged weeding-hook should he hoe them and banish the choking weeds from the furrows. But if gardens are situated on bushy hillsides and there are no rivulets trickling down from wooded groves above, let a space be raised up to a level surface with a mound of sod built up in front, so that the plant may become inured to the dry and dusty soil and when transplanted may not thirst and dread the heat. When presently the bearer

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147. A reminiscence of Verg. *Georg.* 4. 115 *ipse feracis | figat humo plantas et amicos inriget imbris.*

149. **pectat:** cf. 94 and note. The thought of the verse is similar to that of Verg. *Georg.* 1.69 *officiant laetis ne frugibus herbae.* Cf. Quint. *Proem. ad lib.* 8, 23 *laeto gramine sata strangulant.*

152. **aggere praeposito:** Columella seems to have had in mind something like our modern dry-farming. The meaning of the passage is brought out, perhaps, in 11.3.10: *At ubi loci natura neque manu illatam, neque suae spontis aquam ministrari patitur, nullum quidem aliud auxilium est, quam hiemales pluviae. Potest tamen etiam in siccissimis locis opus custodiri, si depressus pastinetur solum: eiusque abunde est gradum effodere tribus pedibus, ut in quattuor consurgat regestum.* Cf. also Pallad. 1.34.2 *Si hac omni facultate carueris, semper altius tribus vel quattuor pedibus ad pastini similitudinem fodies hortulum, qui sic cultus negligat siccitates.*

Lundström, in his study of rhymes (*Eranos* 2.107f.), sees in this verse resemblances to Verg. *Aen.* 7.6 *aggere composito tumuli postquam alta quierunt.*

153. **puluere:** abl. of place where.

mutata loco: cf. Verg. *Georg.* 2.268 *mutatam ignorent subito ne semina matrem;* Calp. *Ecl.* 2.48-51

at mihi cum volsis radicibus arida tellus
pangitur, irriguo perfunditur area fonte
et satiatur aqua, sucos ne forte priores
languida mutata quaerant plantaria terra.

154. **exhorreat aestus:** for the case, cf. Juv. 8.196 *mortem sic quisquam exhorruit.*

Mox ubi nubigenae Phryxi nec portitor Helles
signorum et pecorum princeps caput efferet undis,
alma sinum tellus iam pandet adultaque poscens
semina depositis cupiet se nubere plantis:
inuigilate uiri: tacito nam tempora gressu
diffugiunt nulloque sono conuertitur annus.
Flagitat ecce suos genetrix mitissima fetus,
et quos enixa est partus, iam quaerit alendos
privignasque rogat proles. Date nunc sua matri
pignora, tempus adest: uiridi redimite parentem
progenie, tu cinge comas, tu dissere crines.

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155 nubigenae uector sed proditor Helles *Gronovius* (*teste Häussner*) phixi (phrixi *suprascr.*) **d**: frixi **M** portior **a**: (portitor *suprascr.*) **d**: potior **M** 157 alma sinum **R**: arma sinum **M**: masinũ SA 158 cupient *ed. Ald.* se nubere SAa: denubere **R** *Wernsdorf Schneider* planus **d** 160 annis **M** 161 genitrix acM *ed. Ald.* fetu A 165 progeniem *μ* tu cinge] tue Inge A: tu cince **a** comas SA: comam **R** *Gesner Schneider* dissere] digere *Wernsdorf Schneider*

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155. **nubigenae Phryxi nec portitor Helles:** i. e. the constellation Aries. Phryxus, called 'cloud-born' as the son of Nephele (νεφέλη), was the brother of Helle, with whom he fled to Colchis on a ram with a golden fleece. During the journey Helle fell from the ram (hence *nec portitor Helles*) into the sea which was called, after her, Hellespont (Ov. *Epist.* 17(18).139-144; *Ars* 3.175-178). The ram was later placed among the constellations (Ov. *Fast.* 3.875-876). Cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 2, 3,14, 21, 133; *Astr.* 2.20; Cic. *Arat.* 225; *Germ.* 530.

156. **signorum et pecorum princeps:** a nice play on the word *aries.* Cf. Ov. *Fast.* 4.715 *de duce lanigeri pecoris, qui prodidit Hellen,* | *sol abit;* Manil. 1.262 *aurato princeps Aries in vellere fulgens.* Aries is called the first of signs because the ancients began their year in March; and we still place Aries first of the twelve signs of the zodiac. The time to which Columella refers is about that of the vernal equinox. Cf. 11.2.31 *X Cal. April. Aries incipit exoriri.*

156. **caput efferet undis:** note the verbal resemblance to Verg. *Aen.* 1.127 *Neptunus caput extulit unda.*

157. **sinum tellus iam pandet:** cf. Verg. *Georg.* 2.331 *laxant arva sinus,* and 145, *supra.*

of cloudborn Phryxus but not of Helle, the prince of constellations and of flocks, raises his head above the waves, the fostering earth will open her bosom and now demanding the seed brought to maturity will yearn to be wedded to the plants committed to her care: be watchful, ye men: for the seasons hasten by with noiseless tread, and the year ends and starts anew without a sound. Lo! the gentlest of mothers demands offspring, and now longs to nourish the progeny which she has borne, and begs for stepchildren. Give now to mother earth her issue, the time is ripe: crown the parent with the verdure of her progeny, wreathe her locks, and disentangle her tresses. Now let

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157-8. **adultaque poscens semina:** cf. Verg. *Georg.* 2.324 *vere tument terrae et genitalia semina poscunt.*

158. **depositis . . . plantis:** i. e. transplanted, a common meaning of the verb in Columella, and cf. Verg. *Georg.* 2.23 *hic plantas tenero abscidens de corpore matrum* | *deposuit sulcis.*

se nubere: Wernsdorf, defending *denubere,* explains the meaning of the word as "desistere a nubendo et pariendo, iamque fetus suos alere et educare, quod versus 162 declarat," comparing the force of the prefix in such words as *depugnare, despumare, detonare.* This explanation is not in accord with the nature of the earth, and has not won acceptance.

159-160. Another of Columella's many platitudes. The March of the Seasons is a favorite *motif* of poetry. Among the Latin poets, cf., e. g., Ov. *Trist.* 4.10.27 *Interea tacito passu labentibus annis;* Hor. *Carm.* 2.14.1 *Eheu fugaces, Postume, Postume,* | *labuntur anni; id.* 4.7.9f.; Ov. *Ars* 2.670; *Met.* 10.519-520; *Fast.* 6.771; *Ars* 3.62f.; Juv. 9.128-129; Claud. 1.269f.; and see Otto, *Sprichwörter der Römer, s. v. Vita.*

160. **diffugiunt:** poetic for *fugiunt.*

annus conuertitur: the year is turned back to the point of its beginning. Cf. Hor. *Serm.* 1.1.36 *inversum contristat Aquarius annum;* Macrob. 1.14.

163. **priuignas proles:** plants which are transplanted from *terra mater* to *terra noverca.*

164. **pignora:** i. e. children, pledges of love, a common meaning of the word in and after the Augustan period, e. g. Prop. 4.11.73 *tibi commendo communia pignora, natos;* Ov. *Met.* 3.134 *tot natos natasque et, pignora cara, nepotes;* Liv. 2.1.5 *pignora coniugum et liberorum.*

165. **tu cinge comas:** so Vergil, *Georg.* 2.368, with reference to trees, *tum stringe comas.* On the mention of vegetable growth as hair, see 70 and note.

Nunc apio uiridi crispetur florida tellus,
nunc capitis porri longo resoluta capillo
laetetur mollemque sinum staphylinus inumbret.
Nunc et odoratae peregrino munere plantae
Sicaniis croceae descendant montibus Hyblae.
Nataque iam ueniant hilaro samsuca Canopo
et lacrimas imitata tuas, Cinyreia uirgo,

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166 apios *μ* 167 captis A porro cdq: priori M resuluta a 168 suum M staphilinus M 170 hible c 171 iam *om.* a thilaro S: hylaro cmM: hilari *ed. Ald.* sansuca R: sampsuca *Schneider:* sampsuca *Postgate* 172 inmitata c cynireia SR: cyniretta A: cynireiaque *μ*: tymetiaq; M

For the figurative combing of the locks of mother earth, cf. 94 and 149, with notes.

tu dissere crines: by sowing or transplanting here and there, a figurative arranging of earth's tresses. A meaning of the verb elsewhere rare, but not infrequent in Columella, e. g. 11.2.30, 11.3.26.

tu . . . tu: cf. 71-72 and note.

166. **nunc . . . nunc:** such repetition becomes an unhappy mannerism in the poem. Cf. 195-196 *nunc . . . nunc . . . nunc,* 200 *nunc . . . nunc,* 239-240 *nunc . . . nunc . . . nunc,* 282 *nunc . . . nunc.* Draeger says (*Historische Syntax der lat. Sprache,* 2.329.5) that the use of *nunc* as a correlative begins with Lucretius; see also Woelfflin in *Archiv für lat. Lexikog. und Grammatik,* 2.242.

apio uiridi: cf. Verg. *Georg.* 4.121 *uirides apio ripae.*

apio uiridi crispetur tellus: on the crispness of the plant (parsley or wild celery), cf. Colum. 11.3.33-34 *Vel si crispae frondis id <apium> maluerit, semen eius inditum pilae, et saligneo pilo pinsitum, expolitumque, similiter linteolis ligatum obruet. Potest etiam citra hanc operam fieri crispum qualitercunque satum, si, cum est natum, incrementum eius supervoluto cylindro coërceas;* Plin. *N. H.* 19.158 *Ab aequinoctio verno seritur apium semine paullum in pila pulsato. Crispius sic putant fieri aut si satum calcetur cylindro pedibusve.*

167. **capitis porri:** leeks were of two kinds: *capitatum,* when allowed to grow to a head, and *sectile, tonsile,* or *sectivum,* when the stalks were cut young. Cf. *Moretum* 74 *nomen capiti debentia porra,* 84 *secti . . . porri.* Martial speaks of *utrumque porrum* (3.47.8), *tonsile porrum* (10.48.9), *porrum*

the florid earth have curls of green parsley, let her now without restraint rejoice in the long leaves of the headed scallion, and let the parsnip shade her gentle bosom. And now may there descend from the Sicilian heights of saffron Hybla plants endued with the fragrance of foreign soil. And now may there come the marjoram native to blithe Canopus, and may there be set out the Achaean myrrh which imitates thy tears, daughter of Cinyras, but is richer in myrrh-

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sectivum (13.8); Juvenal, of *sectile porrum* (3.293, where see Mayor's note), *sectivum porrum* (14.133). The cultivation of both kinds is discussed by Columella (11.3.30-31) and Palladius (3.24.11-12). See also Plin. *N. H.* 19.108-110.

168. **staphylinus:** the Greek name for the unmetrical *pastĭnāca,* a kind of parsnip, including also our carrot. Colum. 9.4.5 *agrestis pastinaca, et eiusdem nominis edomita, quam Graeci σταφυλῖνον vocant.* Pliny (*N. H.* 19.88, 25.112) mentions two kinds, wild and cultivated, the latter of broad leaf; hence *inumbret.*

170. **montibus Hyblae:** Mt. Hybla, in Sicily, was famous for its flowers and honey. Verg. *Ecl.* 7.37 *thymo mihi dulcior Hyblae;* Mart. 2.46.1 *Florida per varios ut pingitur Hybla colores; id.* 13.105; Verg. *Ecl.*1.54; Ov. *Trist.* 5.13.22; Sil. 14.200; Plin. *N. H.* 11.32.

171. **samsuca:** *origanum majorana* of Linnaeus. Pliny (*N. H.* 21.61) says that the herb called *amaracus* by the Sicilians was called *sampsucum* by the Syrians and Egyptians.

hilaro . . . Canopo: a city of Egypt on one of the mouths of the Nile, connected by a canal with Alexandria (Strabo, 17.1.16-17; Plin. *N. H.* 5.128). Its people were much given to all sorts of dissolute pleasures; hence the city is described by such adjectives as *famosus* (Juv. 15.46), *incestus* (Prop. 3.11.39), and *lascivus* (Sil. 11.431). Cf. also Juv. 6.84; Ov. *Am.* 2.13.7, with Heinsius' note; Amm. 22.41.

172. **lacrimas imitata tuas:** cf. similar use of the participle in Mart. 1.43.6 *imitata breves Punica grana rosas; Ciris* 500 *patrios imitatus honores; Culex* 404 *herbaque turis opes . . . imitata Sabina;* and for the tears, Symph. 48 (*Murra*) *De lacrimis et pro lacrimis mea capit origo.*

Cinyreia uirgo: Myrrha, the incestuous daughter of Cinyras, who was metamorphosed into the shrub whose resinous exudations (myrrh) were thought to be the maiden's tears shed in repentance of her crime. The story is told at length by Ovid (*Met.* 10.298-502; cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 58; Fulgentius, *Myth.* 3), and is often alluded to, e. g. *Ars* 1.285-288; *Fast.* 1.339; *Rem.* 100.

sed melior stactis ponatur Achaia murra
et male damnati maesto qui sanguine surgunt
Aeacii flores inmortalesque amaranti
et quos mille parit diues natura colores
disponat plantis holitor, quos semine seuit.
Nunc ueniat quamuis oculis inimica corambe,
iamque salutari properet lactuca sapore,
tristia quae releuat longi fastidia morbi.
Altera crebra uiret, fusco nitet altera crine,

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173 stactis **ap**: tactis **SAR**: intactis **bcdms**: in tactis **M**: stactis *Postgate* Achaia **SM**: archaia **A**: achaya **c**: Achaica *edd. plerique* 175 Aecidae *Heinsius* (*ad Ov. Met.* 10.215) immortalesq; **cd** amaranthi **SAR** 176 paris **c** 177 tolitor **a** 178 oculus **A** corambe (Häussner's **n** = Lundström's **p**) *Lundström Postgate:* coramue **SAR**: coramble *edd. plerique* 179 properat *μ* latuca **c** sopore *μ***R** (*teste Häussner*) *Gesner Wernsdorf* 180 tristra **A** reuelat **A** stactidia **d** 181 crine (ne *in ras.*) **S**: criem **A** crebra] crispa *Pontedera*

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173. **stactis:** Plin. *N. H.* 13.17 *murra et per se unguentum facit sine oleo, stacte dumtaxat, alioqui nimiam amaritudinem adfert.*

Achaia: scanned with four syllables. Lundström alone of more recent editors retains this spelling as best attested (cf. *Eranos* 4.183). Langlet ("Ad Columellae codicem Sangermanensem," *Eranos* 1.91), supporting Lundström's reading, accuses Häussner of an error in ascribing *Achaica* to S.

174. An allusion to the fabled history of the hyacinth. There are two stories of the origin of this flower: one, which Columella has in mind,that it sprang from the blood of Ajax, who became insane and slew himself when defeated by Ulysses in their contest for the arms of Achilles, the petals of the flower being marked AI AI in commemoration of Ajax (Ov. *Met.* 13.394f.; Plin. *N. H.* 21.66); to this Vergil apparently alludes in his riddle (*Ecl.* 3.106), *Dic, quibus in terris inscripti nomina regum | nascantur flores.* The other story (Ov. *Met.* 10.209-219; Plin. *N. H.* 21.66; Hyg. *Fab.* 272; Serv. *Ecl.* 3.63) is that the flower is a token of Apollo's grief (**Aἶ αἶ**) at his accidental slaying of the youth Hyacinthus. See also Constance Garlick, "What was the Greek Hyacinth?" *Cl. Rev.* 35.146-147.

175. **Aeacii flores:** Ajax was the son of Telamon and grandson of Aeacus.

inmortalesque amaranti: cf. Plin. *N. H.* 21.47 *Amaranto non dubie vincimur. Est autem spica purpurea verius quam flos aliquis, et ipse sine odore. Mirum in eo gaudere decerpi et laetius renasci . . . mireque, postquam*

oil; and the Aeacian flowers which spring sorrowfully from the blood of him who unjustly lost his case, and the unfading amaranth and all the flowers which nature richly bears in countless colors—these should the gardener set out among his plants, flowers which he has raised from the seed. Now let the sea-cabbage come, although injurious to the eyes, and haste the lettuce with its wholesome juice which relieves the lack of appetite of a long illness. One variety is green and closely sown, another glistens with leaves of dark shade, both called by the

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defecere cuncti flores, madefactus aqua revivescit et hibernas coronas facit. Summa natura eius in nomine est, appellati, quoniam non marcescat.

178. **corambe:** a kind of brassicaceous herb, probably identical with *crambe* mentioned by Juvenal (7.154) and Pliny (*N. H.* 20.79). All the mss., except one of late date noted by Häussner, show *coramue*, yet most editors, following the *editiones principes*, have written *coramble*—the spelling found also in our chief Latin lexicons (Thes. Ling. Lat., Forcellini, Harper), all of which cite this passage alone. The definition of Forcellini is the most satisfactory: κόρη (*pupilla*) +ἀμβλύνω (*obtundo*). Cf. Suidas, κράμβη. κοράμβλη τὶς οὖσα, ἡ ἀμβλύνουσα τὸ διορατικόν, and *Etym. Magn.* (ed. Gaisford, Oxford, 1848), κράμβη: τινες κοράμβε, ἡ ἀμβλύνουσα τὰς κόρας. Lundström reads *corambe*, noting in defense of this spelling (*Eranos* 4.183) the common confusion of *v* and *b*, and citing the *Etymologicon Magnum*. Postgate agrees.

179. **salutari lactuca sapore:** *lactuca* was so named from the abundance of milky juice contained in the plant (Varro, *Ling.* 5.104; Plin. *N. H.* 19.126; Pallad. 2.14.4). *Sopore*, the reading of late mss. (according to Häussner) and of a few editors, is due to the belief (cf. Plin. *loc. cit.*) that all kinds of lettuce have a soporiferous quality. The salutary effects of lettuce are attested by many writers, e. g. Mart. 11.52.5 *ventri lactuca movendo utilis; Moretum* 76 *grataque nobilium requies lactuca ciborum;* Plin. *N. H.* 19.127-128.

180. Pliny (*loc. cit.*) tells us that the emperor Augustus was cured of a long illness by the use of lettuce; as a result of this cure a statue was erected to Antonius Musa (cf. Suet. *Aug.* 59 and 81), the emperor's physician, and lettuce gained such a reputation thereby that it was preserved for use during the months when it was not to be found green.

181. In the following lines Columella mentions five different varieties of lettuce, most of them named from persons who brought them to Rome, or from the country from which they came. All of these, together with the times of their sowing, are again mentioned in 11.3.26-27. Pliny (*N. H.* 19.125-126, 20.58f.) describes several kinds. Martial speaks of a few (3.47.8, 5.78.4,

utraque Caecilii de nomine dicta Metelli;
tertia, quae spisso, sed puro uertice pallet,
haec sua Cappadocae seruat cognomina gentis.
Et mea, quam generant Tartesi litore Gades,
candida uibrato discrimine, candida thyrso est.
Cypros item Paphio quam pingui nutrit in aruo,
punicea depexa coma, sed lactea crure est.
Quot facies, totidem sunt tempora quamque serendi.
Caeciliam primo deponit Aquarius anno,

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182 cecili **M**: celii **a** metellii **A** 183 tertisq; **A** spissos et **SA** 184 cognomine μ haec] Nec **M** capadoce **M** 185 quas **A**μ tartesi in **M**: tertesi in lictore **c** littore **abmM** 186 discrimine **S**: discrimina **AR** thirso **bcdmq**: tirso **M** 187 pamphio (m *postea exp.*) **A**: paphyo **cd** pinguis *Wernsdorf* nutrit aruo (in *suprascr. man. alt.*) **A** in aro **c** 188 Punica **M** comas et **SA** latea **cqM** crure **p**: crura **SAa**μ: cura **R**: curae **VB** 189 quod **SA** quanq; **dm** 190 cecilia **A**

10.48.9). Palladius treats of the sowing and cultivation of the plant (2.14.1-4). See also Billerbeck, *Flora Classica, s. v. Lactuca.*

182. **Caecilii . . . Metelli:** on this kind of lettuce, cf. Plin. *N. H.* 19.127 *purpuream maximae radicis Caecilianam vocant;* Colum. 11.3.26 *earum quae fusci, et veluti purpurei, aut etiam viridis coloris, et crispi folii, uti Caeciliana, mense Ianuario recte disseritur.* Wernsdorf derives the name of the lettuce from that of the Caecilius Metellus who was a consul in the First Punic War, 251 B. C.

183. **puro uertice:** apparently figurative for *pexo;* cf. 94 *puro discrimine,* and Columella's description of the lettuce in next note.

184. **Cappadocae . . . gentis:** Cappadocia was a province of Asia, north of Cilicia. On the lettuce, cf. 11.3.26 *At Cappadocia, quae pallido et pexo densoque folio viret, mense Februario;* Plin. *N. H.* 19.126 *diligentiores plura genera <lactucae> faciunt: purpureas, crispas, Cappadocias.* Martial (5.78.4) speaks of this lettuce as *viles Cappadocae.*

185. **Tartesi litore Gades:** Gades (Cadiz), the birthplace of Columella, was the chief Phoenician colony in Spain outside the Pillars of Hercules. Tartessus, or Tartesus, generally appears as a district of Baetica, south of the lower course of the Baetis River, although the name (Tartessus or Tartesius)

name of Caecilius Metellus; a third, of a pale hue with compact but lanate leaves, preserves in its own the name of the Cappadocian race. And my own variety, which Gades produces on the shores of Tartessus, is pale and curly of leaf and pale of stalk. Also the kind which Cyprus nourishes on the fertile shores of Paphos has a reddish and lanate leaf and milky stalk. As many as are the varieties, so many are the times for sowing every kind. Aquarius sets out the Caecilian at the beginning of the

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was used in ancient times of the river itself (see Oberlin's note on Vib. Seq. *Geogr., s. v. Baetis,* p. 86).

186. **uibrato discrimine:** typical of the difficulties in which Columella often found himself in his metrical experiment. *Vibrato* here means 'curled,' as in Verg. *Aen.* 12.100 <*crines*> *vibratos calido ferro;* cf. Plin. *N. H.* 2.189 *Aethiopas . . . barba et capillo vibrato. Discrimine,* as in Ov. *Ars* 2.303 *Compositum discrimen erit; discrimina lauda,* has the meaning of 'hair'—here in its figurative sense of 'foliage' as often in the poem (see 70, note *fin.*, and cf. Columella's use of *discrimine* in 94). The meaning is clarified by Columella's description of this kind of lettuce in prose, 11.3.26 *Candida est et crispissimi folii, ut in provincia Baetica et finibus Gaditani municipii.*

187. Cyprus was an island off the coast of Phoenicia and Cilicia; Paphos, a city on the S. W. coast of that island, famous for the worship of Aphrodite (*Paphie,* 193). Columella describes the Cyprian lettuce (11.3.27) as of a whitish-red color, with smooth and tender leaf. Wernsdorf's *pinguis,* to improve the grammar, is unnecessary and has not been accepted by later editors.

188. **depexa:** = *pexa,* 'combed' because 'woolly', an adjective applied by Columella to Cappadocian lettuce (184, note). Vergil, unfamiliar with the web of the silk-worm, supposes that the silk material was a vegetable fiber combed from the leaves of trees, *Georg.* 2.121 *Velleraque ut foliis depectant tenuia Seres.*

lactea crure: the stalk, figuratively 'leg'; so the 'foot' of the beet in 254.

189. **tempora quamque serendi:** cf. 35 *tempora quaeque serendis;* Verg. *Georg.* 1.253 *tempus serendi.*

190. Cf. 11.3.26 *Caeciliana mense Ianuario recte disseritur.* Horace, referring to the month of January, during which the sun enters Aquarius, says (*Serm.* 1.1.36), *inversum contristat Aquarius annum;* cf. Verg. *Georg.* 3.304 *extremoque inrorat Aquarius anno.*

Cappadocamque premit ferali mense Lupercus.
Tuque tuis, Mauors, Tartesida pange Kalendis.
Tuque suis Paphien iterum iam pange Kalendis;
dum cupit et cupidae quaerit se iungere matri
et mater facilis mollissima subiacet aruo,
ingenera: nunc sunt genitalia tempora mundi,
nunc amor ad coitus properat, nunc spiritus orbis
bacchatur Veneri stimulisque cupidinis actus
ipse suas adamat partes et fetibus implet.
Nunc pater aequoreus, nunc et regnator aquarum,

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191 Cappodacamque **S**: Cappadocumque μ: Capadocamq; **M** lu///percus **S**: lui percus **A** 192 tuis] suis *Häussner* mauros **a** 193 suis **SAR**: tuis *Gesner Lundström* paphien iterum **SAR**: Paphie, Paphien *Pontedera praeeunte Gesner Lundström* iam] tam **A** iterum iam] Cythereia *Schrader* 194 cupite queritser | Ingere **A** 195 facili **R** *Gesner Schneider Postgate* mollissimo *vel* molissimo **R** auaro (aruo *suprascr. m. 2*) **A** 196 genetalia (e *postea eras. et* i *adscr.*) **S**: gentalia **M** 197 coytus **c** 198 baccatur **a**: Bachatur **M** stimulusq; **bms**: stimuliq; **cdq** aptus **SA** 199 ipsas suas μ: ipsa suas *Postgate* suos **SAR** (*teste Postgate*) partes **R**: partus (u *in ras.*) **S**: suas . . . partus **A** *Häussner Lundström*

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191. **premit:** a Vergilian use of the verb; cf. *Georg.* 2.346 *quaecumque premes virgulta per agros*, 4.131 *lilia verbenasque premens vescumque papaver.*

ferali mense Lupercus: February, the month of the Feralia (21st) and the Lupercalia (15th). Cf. 11.3.26 *At Cappadocia . . . mense Februario.*

193. The line is generally regarded as corrupt, but the emendations proposed have met with but little acceptance. The thought is, seemingly, parallel to that of 192: Mars is asked to sow the Tartesian lettuce in March, and Paphie (Venus) should sow the Cyprian in April. This has led to Wernsdorf's suggestion of *Tuque tuis, Paphie, Paphiam depange Calendis*, and to *Tuque tuis, Paphie, Paphien iam pange Kalendis*, proposed by Pontedera and favored by Gesner; yet neither Gesner nor Wernsdorf incorporated his emendation in his text. Lundström alone has adopted one of the readings proposed, that of Gesner and Pontedera, and has made of the two verses a complete sentence by setting a comma after 192 and closing 193 with a period, the punctuation of Häussner also. *Iterum*, Lundström believes (*Eranos* 2.184), crept in from a marginal gloss in which someone had noticed the repetition of *tuque tuis* and

year, and Lupercus implants the Cappadocian in his mournful month. And thou, Mars, sow the Tartesian on thine own Kalends. And sow again the lettuce of the Paphian goddess on her Kalends; when it is filled with longing and yearns to be joined to its longing mother, and the tenderest of mothers lies loamy in the furrow, then is the time to plant: now is the generative season the world over, now love hurries to coition, now the soul of the universe gives himself to Venus without restraint and, driven by the goads of desire, loves deeply the parts of himself and fills them with young. Now the father of the sea, now too, the ruler of the waters causes to conceive, the former

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pange Kalendis. Postgate follows the mss., but marks the verse with a dagger. I cannot find sufficient justification for disagreement with the unanimous testimony of the mss. *Iterum* may refer to a second sowing or to transplanting; cf. 11.3.27 *Est et Cyprii generis . . . quae usque in Idus April. commode disponitur;* Pallad. 3.24.2 *Hoc mense <Februario> lactuca seritur, ut possit Aprili mense transferri.*

195. **mater facilis:** i. e. the soil is easily worked; cf. Verg. *Georg.* 2.223 *<terram> facilem pecori et patientem vomeris unci.*

m. mollissima: cf. Ov. *Ars* 3.688 *mollis humus.*

196. **genitalia tempora mundi:** cf. Lucr. 2.1105 *mundi tempus genitale.* Pliny speaks of spring as *genitalis hora anni* (9.107).

196f. Cf. Plin. *N. H.* 17.134 *neque enim animalium tantum est ad coitus aviditas, sed multo maior est terrae ac satorum omnium libido, qua tempestive uti plurimum interest conceptus, peculiare utique in insitis, cum sit mutua cupiditas utrimque coeundi.*

Similar rhapsodies on Venus and spring are common: e. g. Lucr. 1.1–20; Verg. *Georg.* 1.43f., 2.323f.; Ov. *Fast.* 1.151f., 4.91f.; Calp. *Ecl.* 5.21f.; *Pervig. Ven. passim.*

197. **spiritus orbis:** the vital principle, *anima* of the philosophers, parent of all creatures of nature (*suas partes*).

198. **bacchatur Veneri:** cf. Lucr. 5.737 *It uer et Venus et Veneris praenuntius ante | pennatus graditur.*

200. **pater aequoreus:** Oceanus, son of Coelus and Terra, and husband of Tethys. Water was, according to the old philosophy of nature, the primordial element of all things; hence Verg. *Georg.* 4.382 *Oceanumque patrem rerum.* Avienus has (*Orb. Terr.* 903) *gurgitis Oceanus pater est*, and speaks of him again (*Ora* 393) as *parens nostri maris.*

regnator aquarum: Neptune, whose wife was Amphitrite.

ille suam Tethyn, hic polluit Amphitriten,
et iam caeruleo partus enixa marito
utraque nunc reserat pontumque natantibus implet.
Maximus ipse deum posito iam fulmine fallax
Acrisioneos ueteres imitatur amores
inque sinus matris uiolento depluit imbre.
Nec genetrix nati nunc aspernatur amorem,
sed patitur nexus flammata cupidine Tellus.
Hinc maria, hinc montes, hinc totus denique mundus

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201 thetyn **S**: tethin **A**: thethim **a**: tethim **bcdm**: thetim **qsμM** amphicitriten **S**: amphicliten **A**: amphitritem **R** 202 ceruleos **R**: caeruleos *ed. Ald. Gesner:* cereleos **c** marito (it *in ras.*) **S** 203 Vtranq; **M** pontumque **cd**: portumque **SAabmμ**: pontiumq: **q** 204 maxumus **d** fulmino efallax (o *postea exp.*) **A** 205 Acrisineos **S**: Arisineos **A**: Acrisionios **R**: Acrinioneos **M** iterum meditatur *Schrader* 206 defluit **bcmqsM** (*man. alt. in*) **d** *Schneider* impre (p *eras. et* b *postea scr.*)**S** 207 genitrix **acq** amorem] humorē **A** 208 sed **R**: et **SA** *Häussner Lundström* flamata **d** 209 hinc . . . hinc . . . hinc (huic . . . huic . . . huic *suprascr. man. alt.*) **M** montes] fontes *Schrader*

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201. **Tethyn:** Ov. *Fast.* 5.81 *duxerat Oceanus quondam Titanida Tethyn* Hesiod, *Theog.* 337.

Amphitriten: makes the verse spondaic, the only one in the poem. Greek and Latin writers of hexameters seem to have a fondness for placing this word at the end of the verse, e. g. Ov. *Met.* 1.14 *margine terrarum porrexerat Amphitrite*; *Fast.* 5.731 *Hanc ubi dives aquis acceperit Amphitrite;* Catull. 64.11; *Ciris* 73, 486; Hesiod, *Theog.* 243, 254; *Homeric Hymns* 3.94.

202. **polluit:** editors, almost without exception, have the less offensive *pellicit* of the *editio princeps*, a reading found in a single and inferior codex (Häussner's **q** = Lundström's **k**), according to Häussner's critical apparatus, but not corroborated in the very thorough critical studies of Lundström.

203. **pontumque natantibus implet:** cf. Verg. *Georg.* 3.541 *maris immensi prolem et genus omne natantum;* Ov. *Fast.* 4.105–106

Vis eadem, lato quodcumque sub aequore vivit,
servat, et innumeris piscibus implet aquas.

205. **Acrisioneos . . . amores:** an allusion to the fable of Danae, daughter of Acrisius, who was visited by Jupiter in a shower of gold. The story is often told, e. g. Ov. *Met.* 4.610f.; Hor. *Carm.* 3.16.1f.; Hyg. *Fab.* 63.

206. **inque sinus matris:** the ancient commonplace of the union of Heaven

his Tethys, the latter his Amphitrite, and presently bearing young to her azure husband, each of these opens her womb and fills the sea with swimming progeny. The mightiest of the gods, himself, now laying aside his thunderbolt, deceptively imitates his old-time love of Acrisius' daughter and rains down in impetuous torrents upon the lap of his mother. Nor does the parent Earth now scorn the passion of her son but, inflamed with desire, she submits to his embraces. Hence do the seas, the mountains and, in short, the whole world rejoice in spring; hence are the

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and Earth. Cf. Hesiod, *Theog.* 176f. "And Heaven came, bringing on night and longing for love, and he lay about Earth spreading himself full upon her." (Loeb tr.); Lucr. 1.250–251 *ubi eos <imbres> pater aether | in gremium matris terrai praecipitavit; id.* 2.991f.; *Pervig. Ven.* 59–62

Cras erit quom primus aether copulavit nuptias
vel pater totum creavit vernis annum nubibus;
in sinum maritus imber fluxit almae coniugis,
unde fetus mixtus omnis aleret magno corpore.

Verg. *Georg.* 2.325-327

Tum pater omnipotens fecundis imbribus aether
coniugis in gremium laetae descendit et omnis
magnus alit magno commixtus corpore fetus.

207. **nati:** Jupiter (Zeus) was one of the sons of Saturn (Cronos), who in turn was of the race of Titans, children of Earth and Heaven.

208. **patitur nexus:** cf. *Pervig. Ven.* 59 *Cras erit, quom primus aether copulavit nuptias.* See also 145 and 157, with notes.

209. **hinc . . . hinc . . . hinc:** cf. Cic. *Off.* 3.36 *hinc sicae, hinc venena, hinc falsa testamenta nascuntur; hinc furta . . . hinc opum nimiarum potentiae.*

209-214. Cf. in general Verg. *Georg.* 3.242-244

Omne adeo genus in terris hominumque ferarumque,
et genus aequoreum, pecudes pictaeque uolucres,
in furias ignemque ruunt: Amor omnibus idem.

Ov. *Fast.* 3.241-242

Nunc fecundus ager, pecoris nunc hora creandi,
nunc avis in ramo tecta laremque parat.

Lucr. 1.18-19 (of Venus)

omnibus incutiens blandum per pectora amorem
efficis ut cupide generatim saecla propagent.

uer agit, hinc hominum pecudum uolucrumque cupido,
atque amor ignescit menti saeuitque medullis,
dum satiata Venus fecundos compleat artus
et generet uarias suboles semperque frequentet
prole noua mundum, uacuo ne torpeat aeuo.
Sed quid ego infreno uolitare per aethera cursu
passus equos audax sublimi tramite raptor?
Ista canit maiore deo, quem Delphica laurus
inpulit ad rerum causas et sacra mouentem
orgia naturae secretaque foedera caeli
extimulat uatem per Dindyma casta Cybebes
perque Cithaeronem, Nyseia per iuga Bacchi,

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210 pecudumq; cupido (uolucrumque *om.*)M 211 ignes cumenti **A** medulis M 212 saciata **Sbm** fecundus SA: fęcundo **d** arctus SA 213 generat A suboles (u *in* o *mut. man. 2*)S: sub oles A: soboles R 214 uacua A aeo (u *suprascr. m. alt.*)S: eo (v *suprascr. m. alt.*)A 215 cetera (ęthera *suprascr.*)d cursu] curru *Schrader* 216 raptos VB *ed. Ald.* 217 iste (a *suprascr. m. alt.*) S canit SAR: canat *edd. plerique* maiora M 218 impulit R ad] et R causas et R: causa est SA 219 secreta (*om.* que) cq 220 extimulet R: exstimulet *ed. Ald. Gesner Wernsdorf* dindima **Sabm**: dyndima c: didima M: didyma VB casta SA: castra R *ed. Ald. Gesner Schneider* Cybebes *Schneider Postgate*: Cybeles SAR *Häussner Lundström:* Cybelles *Wernsdorf* 221 citheronem SM: ciceronem (t *supra alt.* c *scr. man. alt.*)A: citeronem R: cyteronem c nysęia S: nysea M: nyseiaq; **a**: nysaeiaque *μ*: nisciaq; **bm** nyseiq; **cd**: Nysaeaque *edd. plerique:* Nyseaque *ed. Ald.*

Pervig. Ven. 76

Rura fecundat voluptas, rura Venerem sentiunt.

Homeric Hymns 5.1-5 "Muse, tell me the deeds of golden Aphrodite the Cyprian, who stirs up sweet passion in the gods and subdues the tribes of mortal men and birds that fly in air and all the many creatures that the dry land rears, and all that the sea: all these love the deeds of rich-crowned Venus." (Loeb tr.)

211. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4.66-67 *est mollis flamma medullas | interea, et tacitum vivit sub pectore volnus.*

215. **Sed quid ego:** cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2.101 *Sed quid ego haec autem nequiquam ingrata revolvo?* and for the figure, *Georg.* 2.541-542 *Sed nos immensum*

desires of men and of cattle and of birds, and passion is kindled in the mind and rages in the marrow until Love, now sated, distends her prolific womb and bears offspring in many a form, forever stocking the world with new progeny, that she may not become listless in childless old age. But why am I carried along in lofty flight, boldly allowing my steeds to course through the heavens with speed unchecked? Those wonders are sung with greater inspiration by him whom the Delphic laurel urged on to the causes of things and, as he was disclosing the sacred mysteries of nature and the secret laws of the heavens, drove the bard over Cybele's chaste Dindymus, over Cithaeron, over Bacchus'

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spatiis confecimus aequor, | et iam tempus equom fumantia solvere colla.

216. The figure may be borrowed from Ovid's story of Phaethon. Cf. *Met.* 2.234 *arbitrio uolucrum raptatur equorum.*

217. **Ista canit maiore deo:** I remove the comma after *canit*, where it is commonly placed, and set it after *deo*. *Ista = talia*, i. e. the union of Heaven and Earth and other mysteries of nature mentioned in the lines just preceding. I retain *canit*, with Häussner and Lundström; the subjunctive form preferred by most editors is not justified by the mss., nor necessary to the sense of the passage. Columella means to say that these matters have been sung by another, certainly Vergil, with greater divine afflatus (*maiore deo*, i. e. Apollo) than he himself has received from his Calliope (225). The inspiration of Apollo, *Delphica laurus*, is recognized by Vergil (*Georg.* 4.6-7 *In tenui labor; at tenuis non gloria, si quem | numina laeva sinunt auditque vocatus Apollo*); the causes of things, the mysteries of nature, and the laws of the heavens are discussed in the first book of *Georgics*, *passim* (see also *Georg.* 2.475f.); Cithaeron and the untrodden heights of Parnassus invite Vergil (*Georg.* 3.43 *vocat ingenti clamore Cithaeron; id.* 291 *Sed me Parnasi deserta per ardua dulcis raptat amor*); and he associates Bacchus with Nysa (*Aen.* 6.805 *Liber, agens celso Nysae de vertice tigris*).

Delphica laurus: i. e. Apollo, whose symbol was the laurel.

219. Lundström (*Eranos* 2.108) sees elements of rhyme with Verg. *Georg.* 1.60.

foedera caeli: cf. Verg. *Georg.* 1.60 *Continuo has leges aeternaque foedera certis | imposuit natura locis;* and *id.* 2.475f.

Me vero primum dulces ante omnia Musae,
quarum sacra fero ingenti percussus amore,
accipiant, caelique vias et sidera monstrent,
defectus solis varios lunaeque labores.

per sua Parnasi, per amica silentia Musis
Pierii nemoris, Bacchea uoce frementem
Delie te Paean, et te Euhie Euhie Paean.
Me mea Calliope cura leuiore uagantem
iam reuocat paruoque iubet decurrere gyro
et secum gracili conectere carmina filo,
quae canat inter opus Musa modulante putator
pendulus arbustis, holitor uiridantibus hortis.
Quare age, quod sequitur, paruo discrimine sulci
spargantur caecis nasturcia dira colubris,

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222 parnasi **a**: parnasii SAdqμ pernasii **bcms**: Parnassi *ed. Ald. Schneider* per amica S: pnica A: per omissa R *ed. Ald.* 223 Pierii Inemoris A Pieri M baccheia SA 224 *om.* M te paen (*in* paean *mut. man. pr.*)S et ehyie (ie *in ras.*) ęhyie paen S: ete hyie ehyi epaen A: et hyie ethyie paen **a**: ethelyie (*vel* etehyie) chyiepaen **bm**μ: & ehye ehye (*vel* ehyie) pean **cdq**: euie euie Paean *ed. Ald. Gesner Wernsdorf Schneider:* Delie io Paean teque Euie Euoe Euan *Heinsius ad Ov. Ars* 1.563 225 caliope **c** cura leuiore R: curauerit ore SA 226 giro **dq**M 227 conectere SA: connectere R fil///o A 228 mosu (v *et* a *supra* o *et* u *scr. man. alt.*)A putato **cdq**M 229 penulus SA uindantib; A ortis **cq**. 231 caecis *om.* **d**: cetis M nasturtia **d**μ *Postgate*

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220. Mss. of the R class have *extimulet*, written *exstimulet* by some editors who also have *canat* above (217) and set a period after *caeli* (219).

Dindyma: a mountain in Mysia, sacred to Cybele.

221. **Cithaeronem:** a range of mountains separating Boeotia from Megaris and Attica, sacred to Bacchus and the Muses.

Nyseia: tetrasyllabic. Nearly all editors write *Nysaeaque*, to which Lundström (*Eranos* 4.184) and Langlet (*id.* 1.92) take exception, both pointing out the error of Häussner's apparatus in assigning the reading to SAR. Lundström cites identical spelling in Lucan, 8.801 *et iuga tota vacant . . . Nyseia;* so too in Cic. *Nat. Deor.* 3.58. Nysa is generally regarded as a town or mountain in India, the birthplace of Bacchus (Plin. *N. H.* 6.79; Mela, 3.66; Serv. *Aen.* 6.806; Oberlin ad Vib. Seq. *Geogr.*, p. 342). The name was then transferred to a great many places famous for the cultivation of the vine. Some believe that Columella has in mind a village on Mt. Helicon in Boeotia, others understand it as one of the two peaks of Parnassus.

222. **Parnasi:** a mountain in Phocis, sacred to Apollo (hence *sua*) and the Muses.

Nysian hills and his Mount Parnassus, and through the silent Pierean groves friendly to the Muses, singing praises with Bacchic voice to thee, god of Delos, and to thee, Euhius, Euhius. With a lighter task my Calliope now recalls me from my wanderings and bids me run in narrow course and with her knit with slender thread verses which, at the prompting of the Muse, may be sung by the pruner at his task as he swings in the branches, and by the gardener in his verdant gardens.

Therefore, to continue, let there be scattered in the furrow at short intervals cress deadly to hidden worms bred in the

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per amica silentia Musis: a reminiscence of Verg. *Aen.* 2.255 *per amica silentia lunae.*

224. **Delie . . . Paean:** an appellation of Apollo as the god of healing (Παιάν), born at Delos; but here *Paean* seems to mean a festive hymn, since applied also to Bacchus.

Euhie: a surname of Bacchus, derived from εὐοῖ, the cry of the Bacchic worshippers.

225. **Calliope:** one of the Muses, mother of Orpheus, said to have received her name (Καλλιόπη) from the sweetness of her voice; precisely, the goddess of epic poetry but, as chief of the nine Muses, sometimes associated with other kinds of verse.

226. **paruo iubet decurrere gyro:** cf. Ov. *Rem.* 398 *attrahe lora | fortius et gyro curre, poeta, tuo!*

227. **gracili conectere carmina filo:** i. e. to compose in simple style. Cf. Auson. *Mos.* 396 *Mollia subtili nebunt mihi carmina filo | Pierides tenuique aptas subtemine telas;* and note on 40, *deducite carmen.*

228. **quae canat inter opus:** cf. *Moretum* 29-30 *modo rustica carmina cantat | agrestique suum solatur voce laborem;* Verg. *Ecl.* 1.57 *Hinc alta sub rupe canet frondator ad auras; Georg.* 1.293 *Interea longum cantu solata laborem.*

230. **Quare age:** a Vergilian phrase for resuming the discussion, e. g. *Georg.* 2.35 *quare agite; Aen.* 1.627 *quare agite.*

quod sequitur: = Vergil's *quod superest, Georg.* 2.346.

paruo discrimine sulci: cf. 407 *paruo discrimine leti;* Lucr. 5.690 *aequato caeli discrimine.*

231. **nasturcia:** Plin. *N. H.* 19.155 *Nasturcium nomen accepit a narium tormento; Moretum* 85 *quaeque trahunt acri vultus nasturcia morsu.* Dioscorides recommends the nasturtium for the riddance of worms (2.184); so too Pliny, *N. H.* 20.128 *Semen <nasturcii> ex vino omnia intestinorum animalia pellit.*

colubris: for *lumbricis* (intestinal worms), which would not fit metrically. Cf. 6.25 *lumbrici, qui fere nascuntur cruditibus.*

indomito male sana cibo quas educat aluus,
et satureia thymi referens thymbraeque saporem
et tenero cucumis fragilique cucurbita collo.
Hispida ponatur cinara, quae dulcis Iaccho
potanti ueniat nec Phoebo grata canenti.
Haec modo purpureo surgit glomerata corymbo,
murteolo modo crine uiret deflexaque collo
nunc adaperta manet, nunc pinea uertice pungit,
nunc similis calatho spinisque minantibus horret,
pallida nonnumquam tortos imitatur acanthos.
Mox ubi sanguineis se floribus induit arbos
Punica, quae rutilo mitescit tegmine grani,

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232 indomino SA quasseducat SA aluos R *Postgate* 233 thimi **cq** thimbreq; M 235 cineraq; **c** iacche **c**: iacho M (*alt.* c *suprascr.*) **d** 236 potati ueiat ne SA crata (c *in* ç *mut. man. alt.*) S 237 surgit purpureo (*transpos. sign. postea adpos.*)A corimbo M 238 morteolo μ uirent **c** 239 adoperta *vel* ad opta R *ed. Ald. Gesner* pingit (u *suprascr. man. pr.*)S: pingit **cdq**M 240 calathos pinis (*om.* que)SA: calcato (*alt.* c *insert. ut vid.*)M imitantibus SA 241 innitatur **cdq** achanthos SA**bm**: achantos **acq**μM *ed. Ald.*: achantos (h *supra* o *scr.*)**d** 242 arbos R: arbor SA**m** *Häussner Postgate*

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233. **satureia:** known also as *cunila;* 9.4.2 *vel nostratis cunilae, quam satureiam rustici vocant,* 9.4.6 *cunila, quam dixi satureiam.* The herb was eaten green, also it was dried and used as a seasoning (11.3.57; Plin. *N. H.* 19.165, 20.169).

235. **cinara:** *Cinara scolymus* of Linnaeus, generally regarded as the Roman *carduus* (cardoon), a kind of thistle, of which our artichoke is a cultural development. Columella (11.3.14,28) says that it is sown about the first of March. Pliny does not mention *cinara* by that name, but tells of the cultivation (*N. H.* 19.152) and medicinal properties (*N. H.* 20.262–263) of *carduus*, called *scolymos* by the Greeks. For a full discussion of the plant, see Schneider's four-page note *ad loc.*, and de Candolle, *Origin of Cultivated Plants*, *s. v.* 'Artichoke.'

Iaccho: trisyllabic for metrical convenience, as again in 309 and 426, and occasionally in the works of Vergil (*Ecl.* 6.16, 7.61; *Georg.* 1.166).

236. **dulcis Iaccho potanti:** Pliny says of the properties of *carduus*, *N. H.* 20.262, *radix cuiuscumque ex aqua decocta potoribus sitim facere narratur.*

undigested food of an unhealthy stomach, and cunila suggestive of the flavor of thyme and savory, and the cucumber and the gourd with their frail and brittle necks. Let the prickly cardoon be planted, to grow up agreeable to tippling Bacchus, not so to the singing Apollo. This springs up sometimes adorned with clusters of purple flowers, sometimes has the greenish hue of myrtle, sometimes has a nodding head with leaves wide spread, sometimes has the spiked head of the pine cone, sometimes is cup-shaped and bristling with menacing spines, and sometimes is pale and like the curly acanthus. When presently the Punic tree is clothed in its blood-red flowers, which ripen into seeds

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nec Phoebo grata canenti: because of its bitterness and its drying effect on the throat. On 'singing Apollo', cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2.10.18–19 *quondam cithara tacentem | suscitat Musam neque semper arcum | tendit Apollo; Ars* 407 *cantor Apollo.*

237. **purpureo surgit glomerata corymbo:** cf. Plin. *N. H.* 20.262 *alter <carduorum> florem purpureum emittit inter medios aculeos, celeriter canescentem et abeuntem cum aura.*

238. **murteolo:** this dim. form of the adjective is ἅπαξ λεγόμενον. On Columella's fondness for dimunitives see Introd. p. 20, (e).

241. **pallida:** pale green or pale yellow, as in 101 *quae pallet humi . . . uiola*, and Verg. *Ecl.* 2.47 *pallentis violas*, 6.54 *pallentis herbas*, 3.39 *edera . . . pallente*, 7.38 *edera . . . alba.* On the comparison with the color of acanthus, cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1.649 *circumtextum croceo velamen acantho.* Calpurnius (*Ecl.* 4.68) gives the color of acanthus as *rutilus.*

tortos . . . acanthos: Vergil applies to acanthus the adjectives *mollis* (*Ecl.* 3.45) and *flexus* (*Georg.* 4.123). Pliny (*N. H.* 22.76) speaks of it as an ornamental plant: *Acanthi, topiariae et urbanae herbae, lato longoque folio crepidines marginum adsurgentiumque pulvinorum toros vestientis.*

242. **se floribus induit arbos:** a reminiscence of Verg. *Georg.* 4.142 *quotque in flore novo pomis se fertilis arbos | induerat.*

242-243. **arbos Punica:** the pomegranate tree was so called, some think, from the red (*puniceus*) color of its flowers and fruit; but Pliny, *N. H.* 13.112, *sed circa Carthaginem Punicum malum cognomine sibi vindicat; aliqui granatum appellant.*

243. **quae:** the grammatical antecedent is *arbos*, but logically *floribus.*

tempus haris satio famosaque tunc coriandra
nascuntur gracilique melantia grata cumino,
et baca asparagi spinosa prosilit herba
et moloche, prono sequitur quae uertice solem,
quaeque tuas audax imitatur, Nysie, uitis
nec metuit sentis: nam uepribus improba surgens
achradas indomitasque bryonias alligat alnos.
Nomine tum Graio, ceu littera proxima primae

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244 tempus haris satio] t. api satui *Pontedera:* tunc raphanis satio *Housman* (*teste Postgate*) aris **cq** *Schneider* 245 nascantur A gracili (*om.* que) R: gratili (*om.* que) M cumino **uv**: cimeno **p**: camino SAR 246 et ambo spargi (*corr. man. pr.*) A bacas R: bachas *μ* aspargi *vel* aspgi R bacchas asparaci M 247 moloche R: meloche **bm**: molo hę S: molo hec A: malache VB *ed. Ald. Gesner Wernsdorf* solem **a**: (*suprascr.* molem) **d**: molē SAR 248 quetuas (q; *supra* e *scr. man.* 2) S: quaetuas A 250 achradas *Ursinus:* Achrados SdM *ed. Ald. Gesner:* Archados AR bryonias S: brycini/as (*supra* ci *man. alt. scr.* so) A: bionias **abm**: byonias **cd***μ*M alligant A: (n *postea del.*) S: alligit **a** aluos **d**M 251 tum SAR: cum **ad***μ* greio SA: grayo M proxima] poma A

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244. **haris:** probably *aron*, described by Pliny (*N. H.* 19.96, 24.142), *arum dracunculum* of Linnaeus.

tempus haris satio: *satio* for *serendis* (35), *serendi* (189), or *serere* (368). The phrase is generally regarded as corrupt, but no satisfactory emendation has been proposed. Pontedera, says Schneider, objects to the reading of the mss. on the ground that *arum* comes forth at the end of autumn and withers in early spring, and that it is not sown from seed but springs up of its own accord. He suggests *api satui* on the authority of Columella (11.3.34) that *apium* is sown in the middle of May, when the pomegranate is in bloom. Housman's conjecture, *tunc raphanis satio*, has some paleographical possibility but, like Pontedera's, is unnecessary. I find no reason to doubt the testimony of the mss. *Satio* seems to be in apposition with *tempus*, as is the infinitive in *tempus decidere caules* (368, *infra*); and for the use of *haris* (dat. of ref.), cf. Verg. *Georg.* 1.215 *vere fabis satio.*

famosa . . . coriandra: Dioscorides, *de Venenis* 1.9 (Lat. trans. ed. Sprengel): (*De coriandro*) *Coriandrum ob odorem latere nequit. Epotum vocis raucitatem facit et insaniam, qualis e vinolentia existit, blaterant enim pudenda. Toto vero corpore coriandri odor sese prodit.*

with reddish husks, is the time for the sowing of the wake-robin; then the infamous corianders spring forth and fennel flowers pleasing to the slender cumin, and the berry of asparagus bursts forth on its feathery plant, and the mallow, which with drooping head follows the course of the sun, and the plant which boldly imitates thy vines, god of Nysa, and has no dread of thorns: for bryony springs up outrageously abundant among the brambles and clings to the wild pear trees and untameable alders. Then the plant of Greek name, just as the letter next to the first is

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245. **melantia:** Plin. *N. H.* 20.182 *git ex Graecis alii melanthium, alii melaspermon vocant.* The plant may be called *grata cumino* because the combination was used in seasoning, Plaut. *Pseud.* 814.

246. **baca asparagi:** i. e. the cultivated or garden variety, *sativus asparagus*, distinguished from the wild *corruda:* cf. Plin. *N.H.* 19.145 *Omnium in hortis rerum lautissima cura asparagis. De origine eorum e silvestribus corrudis abunde dictum;* also Colum. 11.3.43, and 375, *infra*, with note. It is called *spinosa* from the shape of its leaves: Plin. *N. H.* 21.91 *Spinosarum* <*herbarum*> *multae species. In totum spina est asparagus, scorpio, nullum enim folium habet;* Mart. 13.21 *Mollis in aequorea quae crevit spina Ravenna* | *non erit incultis gratior asparagis.*

247. **moloche:** μολόχη or μαλάχη, Lat. *malva.* The mallow was highly regarded as an aid to digestion; Hor. *Carm.* 1.31.16; *Epod.* 2.58; Cic. *Fam.* 7.26.2; Mart. 10.48.7. Its purgative properties are suggested by its Greek name; Plin. *N.H.* 20.222 *alteram ab emolliendo ventre dictam putant malachen;* Varro, *Ling.* 5.103; Isid. *Orig.* 17.10.5. On the heliotropism of the mallow, see Theophrast. *H. P.* 7.8.1.

248. **Nysie:** an epithet of Bacchus, born on Mt. Nysa. See 221 and note on *Nyseia.*

tuas . . . uitis: the wild grape.

250. **bryonias:** nom. case; cf. *bunias*, 422. Pliny (*N. H.* 23.24, 27) describes two kinds of bryony, black and white; of the black variety he says, *in fructectis et harundinetis maxume nascitur.*

251. **ceu littera proxima primae:** Symphosius, in his riddle on the beet (*Aenig.* 42), has a somewhat similar play on the double meaning of the word, *beta*, as vegetable and letter:

Tota vocor graece, sed non sum tota latine.
Pauperibus semper proponor namque tabernis.
In terra nascor, lympha lavor, unguor olivo.

pangitur in cera docti mucrone magistri:
sic et humo pingui ferratae cuspidis ictu
deprimitur folio uiridis, pede candida beta.
Quin et odoratis messis iam floribus instat:
iam uer purpurem, iam uersicoloribus anni
fetibus alma parens pingi sua tempora gaudet.
Iam Phrygiae loti gemmantia lumina promunt
et conniuentis oculos uiolaria soluunt,
oscitat et leo et ingenuo confusa rubore
uirgineas adaperta genas rosa praebet honores

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252 docto μM *Häussner Postgate* 253 cu/spidis (*alt.* s *add. m. pr*) A: cuspidinis M 254 solio uiride M uiridispei de (i *ante* de *del. man. alt.*) S 255 instat **abm**: insta SAcd: instant μM 256 purpurae (*deinde lacuna membr.*) um (*supra* u *ras.*) A anni R: annis cqμM: annus SAa 257 alma] arma M pium gi (*corr. man. alt.*) S: pium gi A: cingi R *ed. Ald. Gesner Wernsdorf Schneider* 258 hrygię (*corr. man. alt.*) S: frigie *vel* phrigie R loti *ed. Ald.*: lotę S: lotae A: lotę *vel* lote R geminantia Aacdqs 259 conuiuentis SA: conuentis M uiuaria SA: in uaria μ 260 ingenio M 261 adoperta mM *ed. Ald. Gesner* genus (u *expunct. et* a *suprascr.*) A praebet **ap** *ed. Ald. Gesner Wernsdorf Schneider:* prebet μ: prestet SAM: praestet *Häussner Lundström:* praestat VB *Postgate*

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254. **pede candida beta:** cf. 326 *pallentia robora betae;* Plin. *N. H.* 20.69 *candida beta;* Varro, *Rust.* 1.2.27 *pedes betaceos.* The word *pes* is often used of the root or stalk of a plant, e. g. 12.7.1, 12.36; Plin. *N. H.* 21.126, 25.155; Symphos. *Aenig.* 40; so the *crus* of lettuce (188, *supra*). On the time of sowing the beet, cf. 11.3.17 *nam semen betae, cum Punicum malum florebit, tum demum optime seritur; id.* 42 *Beta florente Punico malo semine obruitur;* Pallad. 3.24.10 *Hoc mense betam seremus, quamvis possit et tota aestate seminari.*

256. **iam uer purpureum:** cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 9.40 *Hic ver purpureum varios hic . . . fundit humus flores.*

256f. Cf. in general, *Culex* 70-71

florida cum tellus, gemmantis picta per herbas,
vere notat dulci distincta coloribus arva.

Ov. *Fast.* 4.119f.

Nec Veneri tempus, quam ver, erat aptius ullum.
Vere nitent terrae; vere remissus ager.
Nunc herbae rupta tellure cacumina tollunt;
nunc tumido gemmas cortice palmes agit.

imprinted in the wax by the stilus of the learned teacher, so too is it implanted in the fertile soil with a stroke of the iron-shod lance—the beet, green of leaf and white of root.

And now the harvest of fragrant flowers draws near; now is spring gayly garbed, now the fond parent rejoices to have her brow adorned with the season's fruits of many a color. Now the Phrygian lotuses disclose their gleaming splendor and the violet-beds open their blinking eyes, the lion's-mouth opens wide, and suffused with her ingenuous crimson the rose, opening her chaste eyelids, furnishes sacrifices to the gods and in the temples mingles

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257. Cf. Pallad. 14.80 *Et < malus > partu gaudet nobiliore frui.* I retain *pingi,* with the later editors, as the *lectio difficilior.* The reading of the late mss. may be due to scribal recollection of such passages as Verg. *Georg.* 1.28 *cingens materna tempora myrto;* Catull. 61.6-7 *Cinge tempora floribus | suave olentis amaraci;* Sen. *Oed.* 413 *Te decet cingi comam floribus vernis.*

258. **Phrygiae loti:** the lotus, of which there were many varieties, is apparently mentioned by no ancient writer as native to Phrygia, but rather to Africa (Plin. *N. H.* 13.104f.; Theophrast. *H. P.* 4.3.1-4). Wernsdorf, citing Heinsius ad. Sil. 11.432 (*Phrygiam ad Nilotica lotum*), suggests that Columella may have been misled by the common *tibia Phrygia,* since the tibia was made of lotus-wood and the word might be used figuratively of the lotus itself; or that our author may have had in mind *melilotus* which, as Pliny says (*N. H.* 21.39, 63), grows everywhere and is very similar to the crocus. Schneider, with Pontedera, would substitute *caltae,* basing his argument on the occurrence of *flaventia lumina caltae* (97) and *flammeola calta* (307) in enumerations of the same flowers here mentioned.

gemmantia lumina: see on *gemment,* 37.

259. **oculos uiolaria soluunt:** i. e. the bright-eyed violets are released from the soil.

260. **oscitat et leo:** cf. 98 *hiantis saeua leonis | ora feri,* and note.

confusa rubore: on the 'blushing' of the rose, cf. 102 and note.

261. **genas:** = *oculos,* as in Prop. 4.11.26, 5.5.16; Ov. *Epist.* 20.206; *Pont.* 2.8.66.

rosa praebet honores caelitibus: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1.632 *divum templis indicit honorem; id.* 3.118 *meritos aris mactavit honores;* Ov. *Met.* 8.740 *nullos aris adoleret honores.* The statues and shrines of the gods were wreathed with flowers, especially the rose: cf. Ov. *Fast.* 4.138, of the statue of Venus, *Nunc alii flores, nunc nova rosa danda est; Met.* 8.264; Verg. *Georg.* 4.276; *Aen.* 2.249.

caelitibus templisque Sabaeum miscet odorem.
Nunc uos Pegasidum comites Acheloidas oro
Maenaliosque choros Dryadum nymphasque Napaeas,
quae colitis nemus Amphrysi, quae Thessala Tempe,
quae iuga Cyllenes et opaci rura Lycaei
antraque Castaliis semper rorantia guttis
et quae Sicanii flores legistis Halaesi,
cum Cereris proles uestris intenta choreis
aequoris Hennaei uernantia lilia carpsit
raptaque Lethaei coniunx mox facta tyranni
sideribus tristes umbras et Tartara caelo
praeposuit Ditemque Ioui letumque saluti
et nunc inferno potitur Proserpina regno:

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262 odorem **R**: honorem **SA** 263 comitis **AR**: comittis **M** ache/heloidas **A**: acheloydas **cdqM**: atheloidas μ 264 Menalios (que *om.*) **M**: Maenaliumque **VB** *ed. Ald.*: Maenalidumque *Wernsdorf* coros **A** driadum **M**: dyadum **c** nimphasq; **abcm** napeias **c** 265 amphrysii **S**: am phryssii (*alt.* i *post suprascr.*) **A**: amphryssi **adq**μ: amphrissi **bcms**: amphrisi **p**: amphissiq; thesala **M** tessala **abm**: tessale **d** 266 gyllenaes (g *in* c *mut. man. pr.*) **S**: cillenes **abdmM** lycęi (c *in* g *mut. man.*2) **S**: licaei **A**: licei **R** 267 castaliis **R**: castalli is **d**: castallis **M**: casis **SA** 268 Etque **M** siccanii **bcmM**: siccani μ 269 proles **R**: flores **SA** uestris] nrĩs **M** intenta *vett. edd.*: intecta **SAR** coreis **M** 270 hennaei **S**: hennei **A**: etnei **as**: ethnei **bcdmqM**: hetnei μ 271 coniux (n *suprascr. man. alt.*) **S**: coniux **A** tiranni (y *suprascr.*)μ 272 umbras **SR**: imbres **Aa**μ 273 iouilo etumque **S**: iouilo etũ/que **A** 274 patitur **M**

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262. **templisque Sabaeum miscet odorem:** the odors of incense and of flowers are often joined in the worship of the gods, e. g. Verg. *Aen.* 1.417 *Sabaeo | ture calent arae sertisque recentibus halant.* Sabaea, in Arabia Felix, was celebrated for its spices and incense.

263. **Pegasidum:** the Muses were called Pegasides from their winged horse, Pegasus, who with a blow of his hoof caused the spring, called Hippocrene (Ov. *Fast.* 5.7) or Fons Caballinus (Pers. *Prol.* 1), to gush from Mt. Helicon.

Acheloidas: the Sirens, daughters of Achelous (Ov. *Met.* 5.552), a river which rises on Mt. Pindus and separates Aetolia from Acarnania (Plin. *N. H.* 4.5; Mela, 2.53; Vib. Seq. *Geogr.* 2).

264. **Maenaliosque choros Dryadum:** Maenalus was a mountain of Arcadia, sacred to the god Pan, who is hence called by Ovid *Maenalius deus* (*Fast.*

her fragrance with that of Saba. Now I invoke you, daughters of Achelous, companions of the Muses, and the Maenalian bands of nymphs of wood and dell, who throng the wooded banks of the Amphrysus, who throng Thessalian Tempe and the ridges of Cyllene, and the shady slopes of Lycaeus and the caves ever dripping with Castalian dew; you too, who gathered the flowers of the Sicilian Halaesus when the daughter of Ceres, intent upon your dances, plucked the vernal lilies of the Hennaean plain and, being carried away to become presently the wife of the Lethaean tyrant, preferred gloomy shadows to the stars and Tartarus to the heavens, and set Pluto before Jove and death ahead of life, and now she, Proserpina, is mistress of the lower

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4.650). The oak groves of this mountain were favorite haunts of the wood land nymphs,

nymphasque Napaeas: cf. Verg. *Georg.* 4.535-536 *et facilis venerare Napaeas: | namque dabunt veniam votis irasque remittent.*

265. **Amphrysi:** a small river in Thessaly, famous in mythology as the stream on whose banks Apollo tended the flocks of Admetus (Verg. *Georg.* 3.2).

Tempe: a celebrated valley in Thessaly between Mt. Ossa and Mt. Olympus.

266. **iuga Cyllenes:** a mountain in Arcadia, celebrated as the birthplace of Mercury.

opaci rura Lycaei: cf. Verg. *Georg.* 4.539 *viridis . . . Lycaei.* Mt. Lycaeus, in Arcadia, was famous for the worship of Zeus and Pan.

267. **antra . . . rorantia:** cf. Verg. *Aen.* 3.567 *rorantia . . . astra.*

Castaliis . . . guttis: Castalia was a famous spring at the foot of Mt. Parnassus, sacred to Apollo and the Muses.

268. **quae . . . flores legistis:** cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 3.92 *qui legitis flores.*

Sicanii . . . Halaesi: the Halaesus was a small river on the northern coast of Sicily, rising in a mountain not far from Mt. Aetna.

269. **Cereris proles:** i. e. Proserpina, daughter of Jupiter and Ceres, carried away by Pluto from Henna in Sicily, and made the queen of Hades. The story of her abduction is a favorite theme of poets: e. g. *Homeric Hymns* 2, *init.;* Ov. *Met.* 5.385f.; *Fast* 4.425f.; Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 2.55f.

aequoris: see note on 87.

271. **Lethaei . . . tyranni:** Pluto.

274. **Proserpina:** so Horace writes Prōserpina in *Carm.* 2.13.21, but Prŏserpina in *Carm.* 1.28.20, *Serm.* 2.5.110.

vos quoque iam posito luctu maestoque timore
huc facili gressu teneras aduertite plantas
tellurisque comas sacris aptate canistris.
Hinc nullae insidiae nymphis, non ulla rapina,
casta Fides nobis colitur sanctique Penates.
Omnia plena iocis, securo plena cachinno,
plena mero, laetisque uirent conuiuia pratis.
Nunc uer egelidum, nunc est mollissimus annus,
dum Phoebus tener, ac tenera decumbere in herba

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276 gressus A (s *del. man. alt.*) S   tenera Aμ: (s *add. man. alt.*) S aduertita **p**: auertite SAR: a uertice **bcmq**: auertice M   277 comes (a *supra* e *scr.*)μ artate **cdq**   278 Hinc SA: Hic R *Wernsdorf Schneider* nympis A: (h *suprascr. man. alt.*) S: nimphis **abm**   non nulla **c**: nō nulla M   279 poenas (te *supra* as *scr. man. alt.*) A   uobis M   280 secura A: foetura M   cachino (*alt.* n *suprascr. man. alt.*) S: chachinno M: chachino AR   281 uigent *Schneider* iurent comunia M   282 uere gelidum SA: uer est gelidum R   gellidum **c**   nobilissimus M   283 febus **bm**   tenerans tenera SA: tener atenera M: tenerus tenera **s**   decumbere **a**: decumbit SAR

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275. **uos quoque:** the nymphs addressed in 268.

maestoque timore: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1.202 *maestumque timorem.*

277. **tellurisque comas:** again the overworked figure of the 'hair' (i. e. fruits) of mother earth. See 70, with note.

sacris aptate canistris: so Ov. *Fast.* 4.451, of the same nymphs,

At chorus aequalis, cumulatae flore ministrae,
'Persephone,' clamant 'ad tua dona veni!'

278. **hinc nullae insidiae:** cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6.399 *nullae hic insidiae tales.*

279. **casta Fides:** faith personified as a goddess. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1.292 *cana Fides;* Hor. *Carm.* 1.35.21 *rara Fides,* 4.5.20 *culpari metuit fides.*

281. **uirent:** thrive, flourish, as in 99 and 128.

282. **Nunc uer egelidum:** cf. Catull. 46.1 *Iam ver egelidos refert tepores;* Ov. *Am.* 2.11.10 *et gelidum Borean egelidumque Notum; Fast.* 5.207f.

Vere fruor semper: semper nitidissimus annus,
arbor habet frondes, pabula semper humus.
Est mihi fecundus dotalibus hortus in agris,
aura fovet, liquidae fonte rigatur aquae.

nunc est mollissimus annus: cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 3.57 *nunc formosissimus annus.*

realms: you too, banishing now your grief and gloomy fears, direct your course hither with fairy tread to the tender plants, and array the fruits of earth in your sacred baskets. Here are no snares laid for nymphs, nor any violence; here do we worship chaste Fides and the sacred Penates. All is teeming with mirth, teeming with carefree laughter, teeming with wine, and the joyous meadows are lively with picnic parties. Now spring has lost its chill, now is the year at its fairest while Phoebus is gentle and

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283. **dum Phoebus tener:** i. e. before the heat of midsummer. Cf. Ov. *Met.* 15.201 *Nam <annus> tener et lactens puerique simillimus aevo | vere novo est.*

decumbere . . . suadet: cf. the use of the infinitive in Verg. *Aen.* 1.357 *Tum celerare fugam patriaque excedere suadet; id.* 11.254 *suadetque ignota lacessere bella;* and see Lane-Morgan, *A Latin Grammar*, 2195.

283f. Word paintings of the joys of spring are commonplace. Cf., e. g., Lucr. 5.1392f.

Saepe itaque inter se prostrati in gramine molli
propter aquae rivom sub ramis arboris altae
non magnis opibus iucunde corpora habebant,
praesertim cum tempestas ridebat et anni
tempora pingebant viridantis floribus herbas,
tum ioca, tum sermo, tum dulces esse cachinni
consuerant; agrestis enim tum musa vigebat.

Culex 69—71

at pectore puro
saepe super tenero prosternit gramine corpus,
florida cum tellus gemmantis picta per herbas
ver notat dubiis distincta coloribus arva.

Hor. *Epod.* 2.23f.

Libet iacere modo sub antiqua ilice,
modo in tenaci gramine:
labuntur altis interim ripis aquae,
queruntur in silvis aves
frondesque lymphis obstrepunt manantibus,
somnos quod invitet levis.

suadet et arguto fugientis gramine fontis
nec rigidos potare iuuat nec sole tepentis.
Iamque Dionaeis redimitur floribus hortus,
iam rosa mitescit Sarrano clarior ostro.
Nec tam nubifugo Borea Latonia Phoebe
purpureo radiat uultu, nec Sirius ardor
sic micat aut rutilus Pyrois aut ore corusco
Hesperus, Eoo remeat cum Lucifer ortu,
nec tam sidereo fulget Thaumantias arcu,
quam nitidis hilares conlucent fetibus horti.
Quare age uel iubare exorto iam nocte suprema

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284 saudet c in arguto cd*M* 285 rigido (s *supra* o *scr.*) **a** portare Ad 286 dyoneis redduntur c diones *M* hortus *vel* ortus R: herbis SA 2 sarano **bm** 288 nec iã SA nubifico **bdmμqs**: nubifero *M* phoobe R: pobe SA *totum versum om.* c 289 purpurio c rediat **a** uulto A 290 sic mitigata ut A aut S: ut R: et **a** rutilus d*μ*: rutilius SA: rutilis **acq**: rutibus **bms** pirois S: pyoris *M*: pyronis **a** ore] odore **cdq** 291 Vesperus *M*: Hesperus ore eo (*transpos. sign. postea pos.*) meat A heoo R licifer **a** 292 fuget A: (1 *supra* g *pos.*) *M*: fulgeat *μ* 293 hylares *μ* collucent **ac***M*: colucent **bm** orti c: houi A 294 supre /// ma A

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284. **arguto . . . gramine:** cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 8.22 *argutumque nemus pinosque loquentis.*

fugientis gramine fontis: cf. Verg. *Georg.* 4.19 *fugiens per gramina rivus.*

285. **fontis . . . potare iuvat:** cf. Lucr. 1.928 *iuvat integros accedere fontis* | *atque haurire.*

286. **Dionaeis redimitur floribus hortus:** gardens were under the care of Venus, daughter of Dione, whose name is sometimes used of Venus herself, e. g. Ov. *Fast.* 2.461; *Pervig. Ven.* 7,11,47.

287. **rosa . . . Sarrano clarior ostro:** cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.15.15 *flos purpureus rosae,* 4.10.4 *color . . . puniceae flore prior rosae; Copa* 14 *purpurea . . . rosa;* Nemes. *Ecl.* 2.48 *purpureaeque rosae*; Symph. 45 (*Rosa*) *Purpura sum terrae, pulchro perfusa colore;* Verg. *Georg.* 2.506 *Sarrano dormiat ostro.* Sarra (Sara) was an old name of Tyre, in Phoenicia, Sur and Tur being probably the same root. The city was famous for its purple dye.

288. **nubifugo Borea:** the adjective seems to have been coined by Columella. Boreas was the Greek name of the north wind (Plin. *N. H.* 2.119), Lat. *Aquilo.* Cf. Ov. *Met.* 1.262 *Aeoliis Aquilonem claudit in antris,* | *et quaecumque fugant inductas flamina nubes.*

urges us to recline on the tender sward; and in the whispering grass it is pleasant to drink of scurrying brooks neither ice-cold nor made tepid by the sun. And now the garden is wreathed with the flowers of Dione, now the rose bursts into bloom more brilliant than the purple of Sarra. No such brilliance beams from the bright countenance of Latona's Phoebe when Boreas puts the clouds to flight, not so does flaming Sirius twinkle nor glittering Pyrois, nor Hesperus of flashing face when he reappears as Lucifer in his eastern rising, nor does the daughter of Thaumas gleam in the starry firmament with brightness to match the splendor of the blithe gardens with their radiant progeny. Come then, when now the radiance of dawn is rising at the end of night,

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Latonia Phoebe: Diana, daughter of Latona, in her rôle of moon-goddess (Luna). Cf. Tib. 3.4.29 *Candor erat, qualem praefert Latonia Luna,* | *et color in niveo corpore purpureus.*

289. **Sirius ardor:** a rare use of *Sirius* as adj., but so Verg. *Aen.* 10.273 *Sirius ardor;* cf. *Georg.* 4.425 *torrens sitientis Sirius Indos* | *ardebat caelo.* Sirius is a bright star in the mouth of Canis Major. See note on 41.

290. **Pyrois:** the planet Mars, conspicuous for the redness of its light; Cic. *Nat. Deor.* 2.53.

291. Hesperus is the evening star; Lucifer, the morning star. Allusions to their identity are frequent: Varro, *Rust.* 3.5.17 *stella Lucifer interdiu, noctu Hesperus ita circumeunt;* Cic. *Nat. Deor.* 2.53 *stella Veneris, quae* Φωσφόρος *Graece, Latine dicitur Lucifer, cum antegreditur solem, cum subsequitur autem,* Ἕσπερος; Catull. 62.34-35; Plin. *N. H.* 2.36; *Ciris* 351-352; Sen. *Phaedr.* 750; Hor. *Carm.* 2.9.10-12.

292. **Thaumantias:** Iris, the rainbow, said to be the daughter of Thaumas because of her great beauty; Cic. *Nat. Deor.* 3.51. She is also called *Thaumantias* by Vergil (*Aen.* 9.5) and Valerius Flaccus (8.116); by Ovid, *Thaumantias Iris* (*Met.* 4.480).

293. For the comparison of the brightness of flowers with that of the stars, cf. 96 *terrestria sidera, flores.*

nitidis hilares conlucent fetibus horti: cf. Ov. *Fast.* 5.363 *purpureis collucent floribus agri;* Colum. 3.21.3 *versicoloribus pomis gravidus collucet autumnus;* Lucr. 2.594 *nitidas fruges arbustaque laeta.*

294. **Quare age:** see on 230.

iubare exorto: sc. *Aurorae;* and cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4.130 *It portis iubare exorto delecta iuventus.*

uel dum Phoebus equos in gurgite mersat Hibero,
sicubi odoratas praetexit amaracus umbras,
carpite narcissique comas sterilisque balausti.
Et tu, ne Corydonis opes despernat Alexis,
formoso Nais puero formosior ipsa
fer calathis uiolam et nigro permixta ligustro
balsama cum casia nectens croceosque corymbos
sparge mero Bacchi: nam Bacchus condit odores.
Et uos, agrestes, duro qui pollice mollis

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295 du /// hoebus (*in* dũ phoebus *corr. man. alt.*) **S**: dum hoebus (P *ante* h *suprascr. man. alt.*) **A**: cum phoebus (*vel* febus) **R** cum *ed. Ald. Gesner Wernsdorf Schneider* 296 amaricus **cd**M 297 narcisiq; **A**: nãcisçiq; **c** sterilisq; **R**: sterilesque **SA** balausti **d**: balausio **SA**: balausi **R**: Palausi **a** 298 tu ne **p**: tunc **SAR** coridonis **bcdmqs**M dispernat **R** 299 formoso **Sa**: formosa **AR** formonsior **A** (n *postea del.*) **S** 300 calatis **a** nigra **a** 301 cum *om.* **A** cassia **c**: tasia **a** nectes **c** 302 sparget **A**: (t *postea del.*) **S** bachus condidit M 303 agerestes **A** (e *ante* r *postea eras.*) **S**: agrestis (i *post in* e *mut.*) **a** duo M

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nocte suprema: cf. Hor. *Epist.* 1.5.3 *supremo te sole . . . manebo.*

295. **gurgite . . . Hibero**: poetic for the sea on the eastern side of Spain, Columella's *Hibericum mare* (8.16.9). The setting of the sun is often described in this way; cf., e. g., Verg. *Aen.* 11.913-914 *iam gurgite Phoebus Hibero | tinguat equos;* Lucan, 282 *mersum Phoebum*; Sen. *Thyest.* 777.

296. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1.693-694 *amaracus illum | floribus et dulci adspirans complectitur umbra. Amaracus* is identified by Pliny with *sampsucum* (see 171, note).

297. **narcissique comas**: repeated from 98, where see note.

sterilisque balausti: the flowers of the wild Punic tree, Plin. *N. H.* 13.113; but Isid. *Orig.* 17.7.6 *Agrestium autem malorum flores Graeci βαλαύστιον appellaverunt; quorum alii albi, alii purpurei, alii rosei reperiuntur similes floribus mali Punici.*

298. **despernat**: = *contemnat.* This compound of *sperno* seems to be found only here and in Late Latin.

298f. An unmistakable borrowing from Vergil: with the thought of 298, cf. *Ecl.* 2.56 *Rusticus es, Corydon: nec munera curat Alexis;* and for the lines following, *id.* 45f.

or when Phoebus plunges his steeds in the Iberian Sea, wherever the marjoram spreads its fragrant shade, pluck the flowers of the daffodil and of the unfruitful pomegranate. And that Alexis may not disdain the riches of Corydon, do thou, Nais, thyself more comely than the comely youth, bear violets in baskets, and balsam and cinnamon intermixed with dark privet, and binding the golden clusters, sprinkle them with the wine of Bacchus: for by Bacchus are odors seasoned. And you, rustics, who with horny thumb pluck the delicate

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Huc ades, o formose puer: tibi lilia plenis,
ecce ferunt Nymphae calathis; tibi candida Nais,
pallentis violas et summa papavera carpens,
narcissum et florem iungit bene olentis anethi;
tum casia atque aliis intexens suavibus herbis
mollia luteola pingit vaccinia calta.

299. **formoso Nais puero formosior ipsa**: a reminiscence of Verg. *Ecl.* 5.44 *formosi pecoris custos, formosior ipse;* cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.16.1 *O matre pulchra filia pulchrior.*

300. **nigro . . . ligustro**: the identification of the plant is in doubt; possibly the *cyprus* of Pliny (*N H.* 12.109, 16.77, 24.74), but more probably the ornamental white-flowered privet. The adjective, then, refers to the evergreen foliage rather than to the color of the flower, by which it is commonly described (Verg. *Ecl.* 2.18 *alba ligustra;* Ov. *Met.* 13.789 *nivei . . . ligustri;* Mart. 1. 115.3 *candidior puella . . . ligustro*).

301. **casia**: i. e. the flowers of cinnamon. Columella places it among the bee-plants (9.5.6; so Plin. *N. H.* 21.70). For a full discussion, see Thiselton-Dyer, "On Some Ancient Plant-Names," *Jour. of Phil.* 33 (1914), 197-199.

croceosque corymbos: *croceos* seems to refer to the color of the bound clusters of violets, etc., as in 170 *crocea Hybla;* cf. Verg. *Georg.* 4.109 *croceis halantes floribus horti; Culex* 144 *pinguntque aureolos viridi pallore corymbos; id.* 405 *hederaeque . . . pallente corymbo:* though some, with good reason, take the phrase to mean bunches of crocus flowers, or clusters of yellow ivy berries.

302. **Bacchus condit odores**: cf. 124 *lactis gustus quae condiat herba;* Ov. *Fast.* 5.345 *Bacchus amat flores.*

303. The slow moving spondees may well suggest the slow and clumsy gathering of flowers by a 'horny-thumbed' farmer. Note the contrast of *duro* with *mollis.*

demetitis flores, cano iam uimine textum
sirpiculum ferrugineis cumulate hyacinthis.
Iam rosa distendat contorti stamina iunci
pressaque flammeola rumpatur fiscina calta,
mercibus ut uernis diues Vortumnus abundet
et titubante gradu multo madefactus Iaccho
aere sinus gerulus plenos grauis urbe reportet.
   Sed cum maturis flauebit messis aristis
atque diem gemino Titan extenderit astro
hauserit et flammis Lernaei brachia cancri,

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304 cano iam **R**: cauo iam *M*: canolā SA   305 sirpiculum **a**: surpiculum SAR   ferugineis *M*   cumulate **a**: comulate **R**: tumulat SA   hyacintis **a**: ihacintis **bm***M*: iacynthis **c**   306 contorti **R**: **cum** torti *M*: contorto SA*μ*   307 flameola *M* calca **cq**   308 uertumnus **t**: portunus SAR: Portunnus *ed. Ald.*   ut] et *ed. Ald. Wernsdorf:* autem *M* habundet **a**   309 iacho **abm**: iacco **c**: iancho *M*   310 arre **bm**: are **cd***μ***q***M*: atre **s**   gerulus S**b** (*suprascr.* genus) **d**: genus A   (*in marg.* ał gerulus) **c**: genus uel gerulus **q**   plenos **bdm**: plenus SA**c***μM*   grauis SR genus grauis A: gens grauis **a**   reporiet A: reportat **c**   311 flammebit A   312 Atq; titan geminoq; diem extenderet astro *M* expenderit S   313 flammis] terris **bcm** (*supra vers.*) **d**: flamis lenei b. cancri *M*

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304. **pollice . . . demetitis flores:** cf. Verg. *Aen.* 11.68 *qualem virgineo demessum pollice florem.*

uimine textum sirpiculum: cf. Verg. *Georg.* 4.34 *alvearia vimine texta.*

305. **ferrugineis . . . hyacinthis:** so Verg. *Georg.* 4.183 *ferrugineos hyacinthos.* The *Aeacii flores* of 175, where see note.

306. **rosa distendat . . . stamina:** cf. the use of the verb in Verg. *Georg.* 4.164 (of bees) *liquido distendunt nectare cellas,* and Pallad. 14.83 (of the wild plum) *Exiguam sorbum dulci distendere succo | novit.*

307. **flammeola calta:** cf. 97 *flauentia lumina caltae.* The diminutive form of the adjective, found only here, may be compared with Verg. *Ecl.* 2.50 *luteola . . . calta.*

308. **Vortumnus:** the god of the changing seasons and of barter and exchange. Propertius has a poem in his honor (5.2), in which he is described as a deity presiding over gardens and fruit. Ovid (*Met.* 14.623f.) tells of his love for Pomona, goddess of fruits. All first fruits of the garden were dedicated to him (Prop. 5.2.11, 45-46). On the name, supposed to indicate the turn or change in the year at the beginning of the harvest season, see Preller, *Römische*

flowers, pile high now your white baskets of woven osiers with dark-red hyacinths. Now let the rose swell the stems of the woven rushes and let the baskets be packed to the bursting point with the flame-colored marigold, that Vortumnus may richly abound in the wares of springtime and that the porter, drunk with much wine, with tottering step may come back from the city heavily laden, his pockets full of money.

But when the ripened grain yields its golden harvest, and Titan in the sign of the Twins has lengthened the day and with his heat has consumed the claws of the Lernaean crab, then join

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Mythologie, 1.452, with Jordan's note.

309-310. The metre suggests the staggering gait of the wine-soaked rustic. For the thought, cf. in general Tib. 1.7.61-62

Te canit agricola, e magna cum venerit urbe
serus inoffensum rettuleritque pedem.

Moretum 81-82 *venales umero fascis portabat in urbem:*
inde domum cervice levis, gravis aere redibat.

Phaed. 4.15.9f. *ubi inrigatus multo venas nectare*
sero domum est reversus titubanti pede.

Verg. *Ecl.* 1.35 *non umquam gravis aere domum mihi dextra redibat.*

309. **Iaccho:** see note on 235.

311. **flauebit messis aristis:** cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 4.28 *Molli paulatim flavescet campus arista.*

312. **gemino . . . astro:** the third sign of the zodiac, commonly thought to represent the twins, Castor and Pollux; but according to some, Hercules and Apollo (Varro, *Rust.* 2.1.7. Plin. *N. H.* 18.281). The sun enters this constellation about May 20th; cf. 11.2.43 *XIIII Cal. Iun. sol in Geminos introitum facit.*

Titan: the sun (see note on 42). The time here meant is that of the summer solstice, about June 21st, when the sun enters Cancer. Cf. 11.2.49 *Octavo et VII et VI Cal. Iul. Solstitium; ibid. XIII Calen. Iul. sol introitum in Cancro facit;* Ov. *Fast.* 6.727 (June 19th) *Sol abit e Geminis, et Cancri signa rubescunt.* The date corresponds approximately with that of the festival of Fors Fortuna (316, *infra*).

313. **Titan . . . hauserit . . . brachia:** cf. the use of the verb in 41 *canis hauserit undas,* and in Verg. *Georg.* 4.426 *et medium sol igneus orbem | hauserat.*

Lernaei . . . . cancri: Hyginus (*Astr.* 2.23) accounts for the presence of

allia tunc caepis, cereale papauer anetho
iungite, dumque uirent, nexos deferte maniplos
et celebres Fortis Fortunae dicite laudes
mercibus exactis hilarisque recurrite in hortos.
Tunc quoque proscisso riguoque insparsa nouali
ocima comprimite et grauibus densate cylindris,
exurat sata ne resoluti pulueris aestus
paruulus aut pulex inrepens dente lacessat
neu formica rapax populari semina possit.

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314 alia SA *Postgate* tunc SA: cum R *ed. Ald. Gesner Wernsdorf Schneider* aneto SAR 315 deferte Sbcmq: deforte A: offerte a: adferte μ: afferte (de *supra* af *scr.*) d manipulos A 317 exatis SA lilarisq; M recurrit et In | hortos A ortos c: hortis M 318 tunc S: tum AR *ed. Ald. Schneider* 319 ocia (m *postea supra vers. adscr.*) a: ozyma *ed. Ald.* cũprimite S densate cylindris R: (e *et* c *postea man. alt. in ras. scr.*) S: densatque cylindris A chilindris c: chylindris M 320 satana SA aestus S: (ae *in ras.*) A: ęstu *vel* estu R 321 irrepens cq: inreptens (te *expunct.*) a 322 forma a

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Cancer in the heavens by explaining that it is the crab which, sent by Juno to bite the foot of Hercules as he was searching for the Hydra in the Lernaean marsh, was killed by him and translated to the heavens by Juno.

314. **cereale papauer:** so Verg. *Georg.* 1.212 *cereale papaver*, on which Servius comments: *Cereale papaver vel quod est esui, sicut frumentum; vel quod Ceres eo usa est ad oblivionem doloris.* Vergil's *vescum papaver* (*Georg.* 4.131) refers, probably, to the small seeds or grains of the poppy's seed-pod. Pliny (*N. H.* 19.168) says that poppy-seed, mixed with egg to make it stick, was sprinkled on the crusts of bread. So today.

c. p. anetho iungite: cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 2.46-48 *Nais . . . papavera carpens . . . florem iungit bene olentis anethi.*

316. **Fortis Fortunae dicite laudes:** apparently an allusion to the festival of Fors Fortuna which, as Varro says (*Ling.* 6. 17), was established in the month of June by Servius Tullius, who at the same time dedicated to the goddess a shrine outside the city. The date of the festival is fixed as June 24th in the Fasti of Amiternum (Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, 161) and by Ovid, who describes the events of the day (*Fast.* 6.771f.).

317. **mercibus exactis:** i. e. forcing the sale, if necessary. Gesner, *ad loc.*, interprets *exigere* as equivalent to *extrudere*, citing Hor. *Epist.* 2.2.10-11 *plenius aequo | laudat venalis qui volt extrudere merces;* and in his *Thesaurus Lingua*

garlic with onions and the poppy of Ceres with dill, and, while they are green, take them to market tied in bunches; and when you have sold your wares, sing again and again the praises of Fors Fortuna and return to your cheerful gardens. Then, too, press deep in the newly-broken and well-watered field the broadcast seed of basil, and pack it with heavy rollers, that the heat of the loose dust may not dry up the young sprouts or the tiny ground-flea creep in and assail them with its teeth, nor the greedy ant be able to pillage the seed. Not only do the shell-

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Latinae he compares the unusual meaning of the verb in Liv. 34.19 *mercarique et ipsi, quae externa navibus inveherentur, et agrorum exigere fructus volebant.*

hilarisque . . . hortis: repeated from 293.

318. **proscisso nouali:** Varro, *Rust.* 1.29.1-2 *Noualis, ubi satum fuit ante quam secunda aratione renoueter. Rursum terram cum primum arant, proscindere appellant.*

318f. In his instructions for rolling the sown field, to guard the seed against sunburning and garden pests, Columella seems to owe much to Verg. *Georg.* 1.178-186.

319. Cf. 11.3.34 *Fere etiam his diebus ocima seruntur: quorum cum semen obrutum est, diligenter inculcatur pavicula vel cylindro. Nam si terram suspensam relinquas, plerumque corrumpitur.*

ocima: thought by some to be *ozymum* (*ocymum, ocinum*), a fodder plant mentioned by Cato, Pliny, *et al.*; but Varro (*Rust.* 1.31.4) distinguishes *ocinum*, the fodder plant, from *ocimum*, the garden plant. This is certainly the latter, a kind of mint whose leaves were used in cookery. The plant was connected with many superstitions (Plin. *N. H.* 20.119).

grauibus densate cylindris: cf. Verg. *Georg.* 1.178 *area cum primis ingenti aequanda cylindro;* Cato, *Agr.* 129 *Comminuito terram, et cylindro aut pauicula coaequato. Ubi coaequata erit, neque formicae molestae erunt, et cum pluerit, lutum non erit.* The *cylindrus* is described by Palladius (6.1): *tunc premenda est <area> rotundo lapide, vel columnae quocunque fragmento, cuius volutatio possit eius spatia solidare.*

320. Cf. Verg. *Georg.* 1.107 *et cum exustus ager morientibus aestuat herbis.*

321. **sata ne . . . pulex . . . lacessat:** cf. 11.3.60 *qui aestate ista seret, caveat ne propter siccitates pulex adhuc tenera folia prorepentia consumat.*

322. Cf. Verg. *Georg.* 1.185-186 *populatque ingentem farris acervom | curculio atque inopi metuens formica senectae; Aen.* 4.402 *Ac velut ingentem formicae farris acervom | cum populant.*

Nec solum teneras audent erodere frondes
implicitus conchae limax hirsutaque campe,
sed cum iam ualido pinguescit lurida caule
brassica cumque tument pallentia robora betae
mercibus atque holitor gaudet securus adultis
et iam maturis quaerit supponere falcem,
saepe ferus duros iaculatur Iuppiter imbres,
grandine dilapidans hominumque boumque labores,
saepe etiam grauidis inrorat pestifer undis,
ex quibus infestae Baccho glaucisque salictis
nascuntur uolucres serpitque eruca per hortos,

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323 Hec solum temere dent M sola A audenter odere *man. pr. in* SA frondens (*alt.* n *expunct.*)μ 324 Implicitis **bm** cu'chae A: concha et a limax] lunarum M irsutaq; **d**M: hirsutas quæ A campe R: campi SA 325 iam *om.* A pinguescit SA: turgescit R *ed. Ald. Gesner Wernsdorf Schneider:* turescit μ 326 robora R: robore SA pallentia tubera *vel* pallentes ubere *Heinsius* (*cf. Burm. ad Anth. Lat.* II. 523) betha M 327 olitor **ad** mercibus] messibus *Schrader* 329 iupiter R: iuppite **c** ignes μ: (ībres *suprascr.*) **d** (al imbres *in marg.*) **c** 330 hoiūm boumq; M 331 irrorat **c** uuis **a** 332 E SAcdμ *Häussner Postgate:* Et **abmq** infestet **a**: (t *postea del.*) **d** glaucas | que (as *in* js *mut. man. alt.*) A 333 Nascantur A uolucre A euruca A: erucha **a** ortos **c**

323f. Cf. Lucr. 5.213 ff.

Et tamen interdum magno quaesita labore
cum iam per terras frondent atque omnia florent,
aut nimiis torret fervoribus aetherius sol
aut subiti peremunt imbris gelidaeque pruinae,
flabraque ventorum violento turbine vexant.
Praeterea genus horriferum natura ferarum
humanae genti infestum terraque marique
cur alit atque auget?

and, in general, Verg. *Georg.* 1.316–334.

324. **limax:** Varro, *Ling.* 7.64 *limax a limo quod ibi vivit*; Paul. Fest. p.103 Lindsay, *limaces cocleae a limo appellantur;* Plin. *N. H.* 19.177 *bestiolarum quoque genera innascuntur, napis pulices, raphano urucae et vermiculi, item lactucis et oleri, utrisque hoc amplius limaces et cocleae, porro vero privata animalia, quae facillime stercore iniecto capiuntur condentia in id se.*

enveloped snail and the bristling caterpillar boldly eat away the tender leaves; but when now the pale green cabbage is growing plump on its sturdy stalk and the white beet roots swell, when the care-free gardener rejoices in his full-grown produce and is eager to apply the sickle to the crops soon ripe, often then Jupiter cruelly hurls down frozen raindrops, destroying with hail the labors of men and of cattle; often, too, a pestilential mist falls upon them in heavy dews, of which are born worms hostile to Bacchus and to the hoary willows, and the caterpillar crawls

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campe: so called from its wriggling motion, *καμπή*. This pest is again named in 366, and is elsewhere spoken of as identical with the *eruca* of 333: cf. 11.3.63 *ubi apricis regionibus post pluvias noxia incesserunt animalia, quae a nobis appellantur erucae, Graece autem κάμπαι nominantur.*

326. **pallentia robore betae:** cf. 254 *pede candida beta.*

327. **brassica:** a favorite potherb, of which fifteen varieties are named in 127-139.

328. **maturis quaerit supponere falcem:** cf. Verg. *Georg.* 1.348 *neque ante | falcem maturis quisquam supponat aristis.*

329. **ferus . . . Iuppiter:** so Verg. *Aen.* 2.326 *ferus . . . Iuppiter,* and, of the sky or air, *Ecl.* 7.60 *Iuppiter et laeto descendet plurimus imbri.*

330. The succession of dactyls, together with the alliteration, suggests the rapid beating of the hailstones on the standing crops. Cf. Verg. *Georg.* 1.449 *in tectis crepitans salit horrida grando.*

hominumque boumque labores: cf. Verg. *Georg.* 1.118 *Nec tamen, haec cum sint hominumque boumque labores; Aen.* 2.306 *sternit agros, sternit sata laeta boumque labores.*

331. **pestifer:** sc. *Iuppiter*, fig. for *aër, lues;* cf. 1.4.3 *gravioris caeli multa remedia priores tradiderunt, quibus mitigetur pestifer lues.*

332. **Baccho:** metonymy for *vitibus.*

glaucisque salictis: cf. Verg. *Georg.* 2.13 *glauca canentia fronde salicta.*

333. **uolucres:** also *uolucra*. Cf. *De Arb.* 15 *Genus est animalis, uolucra appellatur, id fere praerodit teneros adhuc pampinos, et uuas,* etc.; Plin. *N. H.* 17.265 *Aliqui volucre appellant animal praerodens pubescentes uvas.* Probably identical with *convolvulus*, a kind of insect larva which preyed upon the vine (Cato, *Agr.* 95).

eruca: see note on *campe*, 324, and Plin. *N. H.* 17.229.

quos super ingrediens exurit semina morsu,
quae capitis uiduata comas spoliataque nudo
uertice trunca iacent tristi consumpta ueneno.
Haec ne ruricolae paterentur monstra, salutis
ipsa nouas artis uaria experientia rerum
et labor ostendit miseris ususque magister
tradidit agricolis uentos sedare furentis
et tempestatem Tuscis auertere sacris.
Hinc mala Rubigo uiridis ne torreat herbas,
sanguine lactentis catuli placatur et extis.

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334 Quos aμ: Quo **SAcdqM**: Quod **bm** 335 comas **Sa** *Lundström:* comis **A** *Häussner:* coma **R** 336 consumta **S** 340 agricoli **A** 342 Rubigo *om.* **A** 343 lactentis **d**: latentis **cM**: lactantis **SAabm** catuli **R**: catulis **SA** exitis **A**: (it *eras. et* t *scr. man. alt.*) **S**

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334. **exurit:** i. e. saps the strength of the plants so that they wither and die as though blasted by the heat. Cf. 144 *ne sitis exurat concepto semine partum.*

335. **capitis:** poet. gen. of respect; cf. Lucr. 5.840 *orba pedum . . . manuum uiduata;* Hor. *Carm.* 3.5.42 *capitis minor;* Verg. *Georg.* 4.310 *animalia . . . trunca pedum.*

comas: acc. of respect, taken with *spoliata.* For a parallel to the construction, cf. Ov. *Met.* 15.213 *hiems . . . spoliata . . . capillos.* I follow the reading of **Sa**, with Lundström alone. All other editors prefer the abl. *comis* (Häussner only) or *coma,* a construction which is entirely possible; but the former reading is less well attested, while the plural *comas* occurs regularly in the poem for plant foliage, *coma* only once (188). *Coma spoliata* may be the result of haplography, as also *comas spoliata* may be due to dittography.

336. **ueneno:** 'destruction,' a rare meaning of the word; cf. Liv. 3.67.6 *discordia ordinum est venenum urbis huius.*

337. **monstra:** referring to hail and mists as well as to the vermin just mentioned; not to the last named alone, as some have understood it, in the sense of Vergil's *quae plurima terrae monstra ferunt* (*Georg.* 1.185). Note the verbal resemblance of the verse to Verg. *Aen.* 7.21 *quae ne monstra pii paterentur.*

338. **uaria experientia rerum:** on the ancient recognition of experience as teacher, cf. Varro, *Rust.* 1.18. 7-8 *Biuium enim nobis ad culturam dedit natura, experientiam et imitationem. Antiquissimi agricolae tentando pleraque constituerunt, liberi eorum magnam partem imitando. Nos utrumque facere debemus,*

through the gardens and, as he goes, destroys the seedlings with his bite. These then, bereft of head and stripped of leafy locks, lie mangled with naked crown, wasted by the pitiless destruction. That countrymen may not endure these calamities, wide experimentation and toil have shown the wretched swains new schemes for their well-being, and practice as teacher has handed down to farmers the way to calm raging winds and to avert storms with Tuscan rites. Hence, that malicious Rubigo may not wither the young plants, is she appeased with the blood and

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et imitari alios, et aliter ut faciamus experientia tentare quaedam; sequentes non aleam, sed rationem aliquam; Verg. *Georg.* 4.135 *Quis deus hanc, Musae, quis nobis extudit artem? | Unde nova ingressus hominum experientia cepit?* Manil. 1.61 *Per varios usus artem experientia fecit | exemplo monstrante viam;* Quint. *Inst.* 2.5.15 *in omnibus fere minus valent praecepta quam experimenta.*

339. **labor . . . ususque magister:** cf. Verg. *Aen.* 12.427 *Non haec humanis opibus, non arte magistra | proveniunt;* Manil. 1.80 *et labor ingenium miseris dedit;* Plin. *Epist.* 1.20.12 *Adiciam, quod me docuit usus, magister egregius; id.* 6.29.4 *Nec me praeterit usum et esse et haberi optimum dicendi magistrum.*

340. **sedare . . . auertere:** substantive objects of *tradidit.*

341. **Tuscis auertere sacris:** Etruria was called by Arnobius (7.26) *genitrix et mater superstitionis.* Palladius has an entire chapter (1.35) on the use of magic in averting storms, pestilential mists, blight, etc., and in ridding the garden of insect pests. See also Plin. *N. H.* 17. c. 28 and Sen. *Nat.* 4.6-7.

342. **mala Rubigo:** cf. Verg. *Georg.* 1.151 *mala . . . robigo. Rubigo* (*robigo*) is properly the red rust or mildew on grain, but here personified as a female deity with power to avert the blight, as also in Ovid (*Fast.* 4.907) and the Christian writers (Aug. *Civ.* 4.21 *fin.*; Lact. *Inst.* 1.20.17). The older writers usually speak of the deity as masculine (*Robigus, Rubigus*), which form is probably correct (Preller-Jordan, *Röm. Myth.* 2.44, note 2). The Robigalia, a festival to avert the blasting of crops (Varro, *Rust.* 1.1.6; *Ling.* 6.16; Fest. p. 325 Lindsay; Serv. *Georg.* 1.151), and said by Pliny (*N. H.* 18.285) to have been instituted by Numa in the eleventh year of his reign, was celebrated on April 25th, at about which time the blight attacked the grain. Ovid (*Fast.* 4.901f.) gives an account of the rites. On the causes of the rust, see Plin. *N. H.* 18.275, 279.

343. **sanguine lactentis catuli:** Ovid (*Fast.* 4.939-942) gives as the reason for the sacrifice of a dog:

Hinc caput Arcadici nudum cute fertur aselli
Tyrrhenus fixisse Tages in limite ruris,
utque Iouis magni prohiberet fulgura Tarchon,
saepe suas sedes praecinxit uitibus albis.
Hinc Amythaonius, docuit quem plurima Chiron,
nocturnas crucibus uolucres suspendit et altis
culminibus uetuit feralia carmina flere.

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344 archadici **R** 345 Tirhenus **a**: Thirenus **bm**: Tirrhenus **d**: Tyrrenus **c** limine **R** ruris **R**: rursus **SA** 346 utiq; iobis **A** fulgura **SR**: fulgora **A**: fulmina *ed. Ald. Wernsdorf Schneider* tarchon **R**: tarcho **S**: Tarcho *Häussner Postgate:* tarcha **A** 347 saepe] ipse *Schrader* praetinxit *μ*: percinxit *ed. Ald.* 348 amitaonius **bcdM**: aminthanus **S**: amynthanus **A***μ*: amynthanius **a** chyron **bdmM** 349 suspendiret (t *supra* r *scr. man. alt.*) **A**: suspondit *μ*

Est Canis, Icarium dicunt, quo sidere moto
tosta sitit tellus, praecipiturque seges.
Pro cane sidereo canis hic imponitur arae,
et quare pereat, nil nisi nomen habet.

The real meaning, however, of the choice of a dog was unknown to Ovid (Fowler, *Rom. Fest.*, p. 90). Festus (p. 358 Lindsay), quoting Ateius Capito, tells of the sacrifice of reddish whelps: *Rutilae canes, id est non procul a rubro colore, immolantur, ut ait Ateius Capito, canario sacrificio pro frugibus deprecandae saevitiae causa sideris caniculae.* The reddish color, was, perhaps, supposed to resemble the color of the grain when ripe, or, as Mannhardt explains it (*Myth. Forsch.* 106), the color of the mildew—in either case a bit of sympathetic magic. Pliny (*N. H.* 29.58) gives as the reason for the choice of a suckling whelp: *Catulos lactentes adeo puros existimabant ad cibum, ut etiam placandis numinibus hostiarum vice uterentur hic.*

344. **Arcadici . . . aselli**: cf. Pallad. 1.35.16 *Item equae caluaria sed non uirginis intra hortum ponenda est, uel etiam asinae.* Arcadia, the central country of the Peloponnesus, was famous for its asses (Varro, *Rust.* 2.1.14; Plin. *N. H.* 8.167; Plaut. *Asin.* 333).

345. **Tyrrhenus Tages**: this Etruscan divinity is said to have been the grandson of Jupiter, to have sprung from the plowed earth in the form of a boy, and to have taught the Etruscans the art of divination (Cic. *Div.* 2.50; Ov. *Met.* 15.552f.; Lucan, 1.636; Cens. 4.13; Amm. 21.1.10; Fest. 292 Lindsay).

entrails of a suckling whelp. Hence Tyrrhenian Tages is said to have set up at the edge of his fields the head of an Arcadian ass-colt, stripped of its skin; and often did Tarchon encircle his abodes with the white vines to ward off the thunderbolts of mighty Jove. Hence the son of Amythaon, learning much from Chiron, suspended the birds of night from forked sticks and forbade them to wail their doleful notes from the high housetops.

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346. **Tarchon**: the reading of the late mss. is retained, as commonly found in Vergil (*Aen.* 8.506, 10.153, 290, 11.184,729, 746, 757), and to preserve the rhyme, apparently intentional, of 346-348, 347-349. On the choice of reading, see Lundström, "Emendat. in Colum." *Eranos* 4.185, and on the rhyme his "Zur Geschichte des Reims," *Eranos* 2.113.

347. **saepe**: best taken as the adverb (Wernsdorf, Schneider); but Gesner regarded the word as a noun, ablative, in apposition with *uitibus*.

praecinxit uitibus albis: the white vine is bryony or *ampeloleuce* (ἄμπελος λευκή), Plin. *N. H.* 23.21. Cf. Pallad. 1.35 (*contra grandinem*) *omne horti spatium alba vite praecingitur;* Plin. *N. H.* 23.28 (of bryony) *aiunt, si quis villam ea cinxerit, fugere accipitres tutasque fieri villares alites.*

348. **Amythaonius**: Melampus, son of Amythaon, a celebrated soothsayer and physician of Argos (Cic. *Leg.* 2.33). **Chiron,** one of the Centaurs, was famous for his knowledge of plants, medicine, and divination. Both are mentioned, in a similar connection, in Verg. *Georg.* 3.550. See also Plin. *N. H.* 7.33.

349. **nocturnas . . . uolucres**: owls. On their *feralia carmina* Ovid says (*Fast.* 6.139-140):

Est illis strigibus nomen; sed nominis huius
causa, quod horrendum stridere nocte solent.

Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4.462-463

solaque culminibus ferali carmine bubo
saepe queri et longas in fletum ducere voces.

and *Georg.* 1.402-403

solis et occasum servans de culmine summo
nequiquam seros exercet noctua cantus.

Juventinus, *Elegia de Philomela* 37-38

Bubulat horrendum ferali carmine bubo,
humano generi tristia fata ferens.

Palladius says (1.35.1) that garden pests may be warded off by hanging in the garden an owl with wings outspread.

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Tyrrhenus fixisse Tages in limite ruris,
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entrails of a suckling whelp. Hence Tyrrhenian Tages is said to have set up at the edge of his fields the head of an Arcadian ass-colt, stripped of its skin; and often did Tarchon encircle his abodes with the white vines to ward off the thunderbolts of mighty Jove. Hence the son of Amythaon, learning much from Chiron, suspended the birds of night from forked sticks and forbade them to wail their doleful notes from the high housetops.

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346. **Tarchon**: the reading of the late mss. is retained, as commonly found in Vergil (*Aen.* 8.506, 10.153, 290, 11.184,729, 746, 757), and to preserve the rhyme, apparently intentional, of 346-348, 347-349. On the choice of reading, see Lundström, "Emendat. in Colum." *Eranos* 4.185, and on the rhyme his "Zur Geschichte des Reims," *Eranos* 2.113.

347. **saepe**: best taken as the adverb (Wernsdorf, Schneider); but Gesner regarded the word as a noun, ablative, in apposition with *uitibus*.

praecinxit uitibus albis: the white vine is bryony or *ampeloleuce* (ἄμπελος λευκή), Plin. *N. H.* 23.21. Cf. Pallad. 1.35 (*contra grandinem*) *omne horti spatium alba vite praecingitur;* Plin. *N. H.* 23.28 (of bryony) *aiunt, si quis villam ea cinxerit, fugere accipitres tutasque fieri villares alites.*

348. **Amythaonius**: Melampus, son of Amythaon, a celebrated soothsayer and physician of Argos (Cic. *Leg.* 2.33). **Chiron**, one of the Centaurs, was famous for his knowledge of plants, medicine, and divination. Both are mentioned, in a similar connection, in Verg. *Georg.* 3.550. See also Plin. *N. H.* 7.33.

349. **nocturnas . . . uolucres**: owls. On their *feralia carmina* Ovid says (*Fast.* 6.139-140):

Est illis strigibus nomen; sed nominis huius
causa, quod horrendum stridere nocte solent.

Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4.462-463

solaque culminibus ferali carmine bubo
saepe queri et longas in fletum ducere voces.

and *Georg.* 1.402-403

solis et occasum servans de culmine summo
nequiquam seros exercet noctua cantus.

Juventinus, *Elegia de Philomela* 37-38

Bubulat horrendum ferali carmine bubo,
humano generi tristia fata ferens.

Palladius says (1.35.1) that garden pests may be warded off by hanging in the garden an owl with wings outspread.

Sed ne dira nouas segetes animalia carpant,
profuit interdum medicantem semina pingui
Palladia sine fruge salis conspargere amurca
innataue laris nigra satiare fauilla.
Profuit et plantis latices infundere amaros
marrubii multoque sedi contingere suco.
At si nulla ualet medicina repellere pestem,
Dardanicae ueniunt artes nudataque plantas
femina, quae iustis tum demum operata iuuencae

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351 diras **bm:** dura **cd** 352 sanguine pingui **bmq:** (semini *suprascr.*) **d:** sanguinem (m *post. exp.*) pingui μ: sanguine pingi **M** 353 conspergere *ed. Ald. Schneider* 354 Innatã uelaris **SA:** Innata uel aris **R:** Innata uelaris **M** lari *Postgate* saciare **Sc** 356 Marrubii **R:** Marubi **M** Marruuii **S** *Häussner Lundström Postgate:* Marruuit **A** sedi *ed. Ald.:* seri **SAR** succo **M** 357 Ad **A:** (d *in* t *mut. man. alt.*) **S** uallet **M** 358 Dardanie *uel* -ię **R** ueniant *Gesner Wernsdorf Schneider* 359 iuuencae **SA**μ *Häussner Lundström:* iuuente **R:** iuuentae *ed. Ald. Gesner Wernsdorf Schneider Postgate*

351-356. Cf. Verg. *Georg.* 1.193-196

Semina vidi equidem multos medicare serentis
et nitro prius et nigra perfundere amurca,
grandior ut fetus siliquis fallacibus esset,
et quamvis igni exiguo properata maderent.

Colum. 11.3.60-61 *Qui aestate ista seret, caueat ne propter siccitates pulex adhuc tenera folia prorepentia consumat. Idque ut vitetur, puluis (etiam), qui supra cameram inuenitur, vel etiam fuligo, quae supra focos tectis inhaeret, colligi debet: deinde pridie quam satio fiat, commisceri cum seminibus, et aqua conspergi, ut tota nocte succum trahant. Nam sic macerata postero die recte seruntur. Veteres quidam auctores, ut Democritus, praecipiunt, semina omnia succo herbae, quae sedum appellatur, medicare, eodem remedio aduersus bestiolas uti: quod verum esse nos experientia docuit; id.* 64.

Cato, *Agr.* 92 *Frumento ne noceat curculio, neu mures tangant, lutum de amurca facito, palearum paulum addito, sinito macerescant bene, subigito bene, eo granarium totum oblinito crasso luto, postea conspergito amurca omne quod lutaueris. Ubi aruerit, eo frumentum refrigeratum condito, curculio non nocebit; id.* 91.

Plin. *N. H.* 18.159 *si . . . vermes radicibus inhaerent, remedium est amurca pura ac sine sale spargere, deinde sarire.*

But that the noxious vermin may not gnaw the young crops, it has been found useful at times to steep the seeds and sprinkle them with the oily and unsalted lees of the olive or to saturate them with the natural black soot of the hearth. It has been useful also to pour upon the plants the bitter juices of horehound, and to moisten them unsparingly with the sap of the houseleek. But if no drug can banish the plague, recourse is had to Dardan arts, and a woman with bared feet, observing for the first time the regular laws of young womankind and embar-

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Pallad. 1.35.2 *Contra culices et limaces vel amurcam recentem vel ex cameris fuliginem spargimus. Contra formicas, si in horto habent foramen, cor noctuae admoueamus; si foris veniunt, omne horti spatium cinere aut creatae candore signemus.*

352. **profuit:** a common expression in the *Georgics*, e. g. 1.84 *incendere profuit agros,* 3.459 *profuit incensos aestus avertere,* 3.509 *profuit . . . latices infundere* (cf. 355, *infra*).

353. **Palladia . . . amurca:** cf. 121 *Palladiae bacae,* and note.

sine fruge salis . . . amurca: cf. 1.6.12 *<solum> amurca recenti non salsa madefactum.*

356. **marrubii:** cf. 6.25 *Marrubii quoque succus et porri valet eiusmodi necare animalia;* Plin. *N. H.* 20.241 *Marrubium plerique inter primas herbas commendavere, quod Graeci prasion vocant . . . notius quam ut indicandum sit. Huius folia semenque contrita prosunt contra serpentes, pectorum et lateris dolores, tussim veterem.*

sedi: all editors read thus with Iucundus and against the ms. *seri.* While *seri* can be translated (as gen. of *serum,* 'whey'), there is no evidence that whey was used as an insectifuge; the juice of *sedum,* on the other hand, is often recommended for this purpose: 2.9.10, 11.3.61, 64; Pallad. 10.3.2; Plin. *N. H.* 18.159 *Democritus suco herbae, quae appellatur aizoum, in tegulis nascens, et ab aliis aesum, Latine vero sedum aut digitillum, medicata seri iubet omnia semina.*

358. **Dardanicae . . . artes:** i. e. magic arts. Dardanus is mentioned by Apuleius (*Apol.* 90 *fin.*) as one of the inventors of magic art. From him, says Pliny (*N. H.* 30.9), Democritus derived in part his pretended knowledge.

plantas: the soles of the feet, as in Verg. *Ecl.* 10.49; *Aen.* 4.259, 8.458; *et al.* Direct object of *nudata,* here used with middle force.

359. **iuuencae:** subst. for *iuvenis feminae.* This meaning, though not common, is found in Ovid (*Epist.* 5.117) and in Valerius Flaccus (4.350) and is better adapted to the sense than is the commonly accepted *iuuentae.*

legibus obsceno manat pudibunda cruore,
sed resoluta sinus, resoluto maesta capillo,
ter circum areolas et saepem ducitur horti.
Quem cum lustrauit gradiens—mirabile uisu—
non aliter quam decussa pluit arbore nimbus
uel teretis mali uel tectae cortice glandis,
uoluitur in terram distorto corpore campe.
Sic quondam magicis sopitum cantibus anguem
uellere Phryxeo delapsum uidit Iolcos.
Sed iam prototomos tempus decidere caules
et Tartesiacos Paphiosque reuellere thyrsos

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360 obscaeno *Postgate* mandat c*μ*M 361 sinius SA maiesta A 362 septem M hortis **bm*μ***M: ortis **c** 363 quem SA *Häussner Postgate:* quae *vel* quę *vel* quae R quae *ed. Ald. Wernsdorf Schneider Lundström* grandiens M miserabile SA iusuM 364 arbore SA: ab arbore R 365 recte a 366 in SA*μ*: ad R *ed. Ald. Wernsdorf Schneider* campue (am *in ras.; antea* conpue *scriptum fuisse videtur*) A adtercam (*corr. ad* adterram *ut vid.*) M 367 macis A: (gi *suprascr. man. alt.*) S sopitum R: sospitum M: soticū SA 368 pryxeo (h *suprascr. man. alt.*) S: phrixeo **bm**M iolcos (i *in* j *mut. man. alt.*) S: iolohos M 369 prototomos Sa: ⁀ptomos (to *supra* m *scr. iam man. pr. ut. vid.*) A: protocomos **cd*μ*q**M: prothocomos **bm** 370 tartesiacos R: (os *in ras.*) A: partesiacos S phaphiosq; A: (*pr.* h *del. man. pr.*) M: pahiosq; **a**: panhiosq; **bm** reuellere thyrsos **cdq**M: reueller & hirsus (u *in* o *mut. man. alt.*) S: reuellere tirsos (h *supra* i *scr. man. pr.*) A: reuellere thirsos **abm*μ***

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iustis . . . operata legibus: a poetic construction, found also in post-Augustan prose. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 3.136 *conubiis arvisque novis operata iuventus; Georg.* 1.339 *sacra refer Cereri laetis operatus in herbis;* Hor. *Carm.* 3.14.16 *mulier . . . iustis operata sacris;* Colum. 12.4.3 *quibus si fuerit operatus vel vir vel femina.*

359-362. Cf. 11.3.64 *Sed Democritus in eo libro, qui Graece inscribitur περὶ ἀντιπαθῶν, affirmat, has ipsas bestiolas enecari, si mulier, quae in menstruis est, solutis crinibus et nudo pede unamquamque aream ter circumeat: post hoc enim decidere omnes vermiculos, et ita emori;* Pallad. 1.35.3 (*Contra erucas*) *Aliqui mulierem menstruantem, nusquam cinctam, solutis capillis, nudis pedibus contra erucas et cetera hortum faciunt circumire;* Plin. *N. H.* 17.266, 28.78.

rassed by the flow of her uncleanness, yet with garments loosened and hair unbound in token of her dejection, is led three times around the garden's beds and its surrounding hedge. And when she has encircled it step by step—wondrous to behold! just as a shower of smooth-skinned apples or of bark-thatched acorns rains down when the tree is shaken, so writhing caterpillars are tumbled to earth. So once Iolcos saw the dragon fallen from Phryxus' fleece, when lulled to sleep by magic incantations.

But now it is time to cut the earliest cabbage-sprouts and to pluck the Tartesian and Paphian lettuce, and to tie them in

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361. **resoluto maesta capillo:** cf. Verg. *Aen.* 11.35 *et maestum Iliades crinem de more solutae.*

362. Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 8.75 *terque haec altaria circum | effigiem duco; Georg.* 1.345 *terque novas circum felix eat hostia fruges.*

The bare feet, ungirt robes, flowing hair, and threefold circumambulations are regular features of the religious symbolism. So Ovid (*Met.* 1.382) of Deucalion and Pyrrha, and (*Met.* 7.182-193) of Medea; and Vergil of Dido (*Aen.* 4.518). For a full treatment of the magic element of *ter* in this passage and elsewhere, see Eugene Tavenner, "Three as a Magic Number in Latin Literature," *T. A. P. A.* 47.117-143.

364. **non aliter quam:** the sense of the line suggests Verg. *Georg.* 4.80-81 *non densior aëre grando, | nec de concussa tantum pluit ilice glandis.*

366. **campe:** see 324, note.

367. **magicis sopitum cantibus anguem:** the dragon was lulled to sleep by the enchantments of Medea who *verba ter dixit placidos facientia somnos* (Ov. *Met.* 7.153). Jason then secured the golden fleece and returned with his bride to Iolcos. Ov. *Met.* 7.149-158; Val. Flacc. 8.83-91.

368. **uellere Phryxeo:** the golden fleece of the ram which carried Phryxus off to Colchis. See 155, note.

369. **tempus decidere:** the infinitive is loosely joined to the substantive to denote purpose. Cf. Verg. *Georg.* 1.213 *papaver | tempus humo tegere; id.* 2.542 *tempus . . . solvere colla;* Liv. 21.54.2 *corpora curare tempus est;* and Lane-Morgan, *A Latin Grammar*, 2164, (a).

prototomos . . . caules: the early (πρωτό-τομος, first cut) sprouts of cabbage; Plin. *N. H.* 19.137. Martial calls them *prototomi coliculi* (14.101) or simply *prototomi* (10.48.16).

370. **Tartesiacos Paphiosque . . . thyrsos:** the lettuce of Tartessus and of Cyprus. See 185-187, with notes.

atque apio fasces et secto cingere porro.
Iamque eruca salax fecundo prouenit horto,
lubrica iam lapathos, iam thamni sponte uirescunt
et scilla, hirsuto saepes nunc horrida rusco
prodit et asparagi corruda simillima filo
umidaque andrachle sitientis protegit antes
et gravis atriplici consurgit longa phaselos.
Tum modo dependens trichilis, modo more chelydri

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371 apios SA cinigere A 372 sale **a** hortu A: ortu *Pontedera:* orto **c** 373-374 lubrica iam laphato sepes ñc horrida rusco (*om. cet*) A 373 laphatos S thamni S: thanni R: thaumi M: rhamni *Gesner Wernsdorf* 374 scilla **d**: scila **c**: est illa (e *eras. et duo verba contr. man. alt.*) S: stila R hirsuto Sc: tirsuto **abmμ**M: tyrsuto **d**: hirsuta VB *ed. Ald. Gesner* orrida **c** 375 asparago **d** corruda R: curru da S: curruda A similima M 376 humidaq; R andrachle *Lundström Postgate:* andrachię SA: andrachie *vel* -ię R antas SAR *Lundström:* antus **bm** 377 grauas A longe A phaselos S: phasedos A: phaselus R: phagellus M 378 Tumodo R: Tu modo M dependens **bcm**: dependes SAR trichilis *Gesner:* trichili *ed. Ald.:* triplicis SA: richili R chelydri **c**: chelidri **acm**: celydri SA: chelindri M: cylindri **d**V

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371. **apio:** probably wild celery or smallage, *apium graveolens*, related to parsley. See J. Sargeaunt, ad Hor. *Carm.* 4.11.3, *Cl. Rev.* 16.121; Thiselton-Dyer in Sandys' *Comp. Lat. Stud.*, p. 80.

secto . . . porro: the leek, when cut young, was called *sectum* or *sectivum;* but *capitatum* when allowed to go to seed. See note on 167.

372. **eruca salax:** cf. 109, with note.

373. **lubrica . . . lapathos:** *lapathum* in Plin. *N. H.* 20.231. Also known as *rumex*, e. g. *Moretum* 73. The adjective *lubrica*, some say, aptly describes the herb when cooked; others think that it is so called because of its laxative effect. Cf. Hor. *Serm.* 2.4.27f. *si dura morabitur alvos,* | *mitulus et viles pellent obstantia conchae* | *et lapathi brevis herba.*

thamni: apparently shrubs (cf. θάμνοι) of some sort, if the reading is correct, though it seems impossible to determine the exact meaning. Pontedera (in Schneider's note, *ad loc.*) takes it to be 'black bryony.' The word occurs again (but as nom. *thamnum*) in a list of pickle-plants in 12.7.1-2, and is found in Tertull. *Anim.* 32, but is otherwise unknown. Some emend to *rhamni*, a reading which has paleographical possibility and which may be supported by the connection with *scilla* in Vegetius' veterinary prescription (*Mulom.* 5.74): *Radices scillae, radices populi, quae graece appellatur rhamnos,* etc. For a fuller discussion of the difficult problem, see Schneider's note.

bunches with smallage and the cut leek. And now the salacious rocket thrives in the fruitful garden, now the slippery sorrel, now thamnum and the squill flourish without cultivation, now the hedge shoots up bristling with shaggy butcher's-broom, and wild asparagus resembling closely the threadlike branches of asparagus: the thirsty rows are overgrown with moist purslane and the long kidney bean springs up burdensome to the orach. And now suspended from trellises, now twining serpent-like

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sponte uirescunt: cf. Verg. *Georg.* 1.55 *iniussa uirescunt gramina.*

374. **saepes . . . horrida rusco:** cf. 27 *saepibus hirtis;* Verg. *Ecl.* 7.42 *horridior rusco; Georg.* 2.413 *aspera rusci vimina.*

375. **corruda:** the wild plant from which asparagus was developed. Cato, *Agr.* 6.3 *ibi corrudam serito, unde asparagi fiant;* Varro, *Rust.* 1.24.4 *ibi quoque corrudam, unde asparagi fiant;* Plin. *N. H.* 19.145.

376. **andrachle:** ἀνδράχλη or ἀνδράχνη, Lat. *portulaca.* Cf. Plin. *N. H.* 13.120 *Andrachlen omnes fere Graecis porcillacae nomine interpretantur, cum sit herba et andrachne vocetur unius litterae diversitate.* Nearly all editors have *andrachne*, following the first editions.

antes: a Vergilian word (*Georg.* 2.417), corrected from *antas* by the first editions. Lundström alone follows the mss.

377. **atriplici:** called ἀτράφαξυς by the Greeks (11.3.42; Plin. *N. H.* 20.219). Cf. Dioscorides, 4.145 (Lat. trans. ed. Sprengel) *Atriplex, quod nonnulli aureum olus (Aegyptii ochei appellant) olus est notum et duarum specierum, alterum sylvestre, hortense alterum. Coctum id oleris modo manditur, alvumque mollit: panos vero discutit, sive crudum, sive coctum illinatur. Fructus autem ex aqua mulsa potus regio morbo medetur.*

378. **modo dependens trichilis:** the cucumber and the gourd were sometimes trained to grow on trellises. Cf. Plin. *N.H.* 19.61 *Quaedam iacent crescuntque, ut cucurbita et cucumis; eadem pendent, quamquam graviora multo etiam iis, quae in arboribus gignuntur; id.* 19.69; *Copa* 22 *et pendet iunco caeruleus cucumis;* Symph. 43 (*Cucurbita*)

Pendeo, dum nascor; rursus, dum pendo, tumesco.
Pendens commoveor ventis et nutrior undis.
Pendula si non sim, non sum iam iamque futura.

mode more chelydri: the cucumber which trails on the ground, *cucumis anguinus* (Varro, *Rust.* 1.2.25; Colum. 2.9.10) or *erraticus* (Plin. *N. H.* 20.9); compared to the water-snake because of its fondness for water (394-395, *infra*).

sole sub aestiuo gelidas per graminis umbras
intortus cucumis praegnasque cucurbita serpit.
Una neque est illis facies. Nam si tibi cordi
longior est, gracili capitis quae uertice pendet,
e tenui collo semen lege; siue globosi
corporis atque utero nimium quae uasta tumescit,
uentre leges medio; sobolem dabit illa capacem
Naryciae picis aut Actaei mellis Hymetti
aut habilem lymphis hamulam Bacchoue lagoenam,
tum pueros eadem fluuiis innare docebit.

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380 Intortus **S**: Intortos **AR** praegnansq; **abdm** *ed. Ald. Schneider:* pregnansq; **M** 381 neque] nec **M** ullis **d** 383 e **Aabcm**: (t *adscr. m. alt.*) **S**: et **dM** *Lundström* lege siue **R**: lege sine **c**: leges iube **SA** glouosi (u *eras. et* b *scr. m. alt.*) **S**: (b *supra* u *scr. m. alt.*) **A**: globose **M** 384 atque *om. man. pr. suprascr. man. alt.* **A** 385 ventre leges **R**: ventreles **SA** subolem **A** *Postgate*: (u *in* o *corr. man. alt.*) **S** illi **A** 386 Narcię **A**: (y *suprascr. man. alt.*) **S**: Naritie *vel* -ię **R**: Varicie (*ex* Vacicie *ut vid.*) **M** aut hactei **R**: autaei **SA** 387 limphis **SbmM** hamolam (u *supra* o *scr.*)μ: amulam **M** bachoq; **d**: bacchoque μ 388 fluuis **SA**

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380. **intortus cucumis**: cf. Verg. *Georg.* 4.121-122 *tortusque per herbam | cresceret in ventrem cucumis*. The word *cucumis* seems to have had larger signification among the Romans than our 'cucumber' has with us, for it includes melons. Those that grew slender and were mellow when ripe were called *pepones;* while those which were apple-shaped were called *melopepones* (Plin. *N. H.* 19.65,67, 20.11). The cucumber and the gourd are similarly linked in Prop. 5.2.43 *Caeruleus cucumis tumidoque cucurbita ventre.*

praegnasque curcurbita: cf. Prop. *loc. cit.; Moretum* 78 *gravis in latum demissa cucurbita ventrem.*

381. **Una neque est illis facies**: Vergil (*Georg.* 2.85) makes a like statement concerning the olive: *Nec pingues unam in faciem nascuntur olivae;* and Ovid (*Met.* 2.13-14), *facies non omnibus una, nec diversa tamen.*

381f. For similar precepts as to the choice of seed in determining the shape of the product, cf. 11.3.49-50 *idque de media parte cucurbitae semen inverso cacumine ponito, ut fiat incrementi vastioris. . . . At si esculentae merci*

through the cool shade of the grasses beneath the summer sun, the twisted cucumber and the swollen gourd wind their way. Nor are they uniform in shape. For if you would have one of some length, hanging from slender stem, select seed from the slim neck; or if you choose one of spherical shape which widens out to abnormal dimensions, you will select from the center of the swelling; this will produce offspring that will hold Narycian pitch or the honey of Attic Hymettus, or will make a handy little bucket for water or a flagon for wine, and will serve also to teach boys to swim in the rivers. But the cucumber of dusky hue

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praeparabis, recto cacumine de collo cucurbitae sumptum semen serendum erit, quo prolixior et tenuior fructus eius nascatur, qui scilicet maius caeteris invenit pretium; Plin. *N. H.* 19.72 *semina, quae proxima collo fuerunt, proceras pariunt, item ab imis, sed non comparandas supra dictis; quae in medio, rotundas; quae in lateribus, crassas brevioresque;* Pallad. 4.9.16 *Hoc in cucurbitis insigne est, quod longas pariunt et exiles semina, quae in earum cervice nascuntur: quae in ventre fuerant, cucurbitas faciunt crassiores: quae in fundo, latas, si inversis cacuminibus obruantur.*

382. **capitis quae vertice pendet**: i. e. suspended from a trellis. Pliny tells us (*N. H.* 19.73) that cucumbers and gourds grown in this way were longer and more slender, and hence more highly prized for eating.

385. **sobolem dabit illa capacem**: cf. 11.3.49 *sunt ad usum vasorum satis idoneae, sicut Alexandrinae cucurbitae, cum exaruerint.*

386. **Naryciae picis**: an epithet sometimes applied to Bruttian pitch, since Greek colonists from Naryx, a city of the Locri Ozolae, are said to have settled in the country of the Bruttii (Verg. *Aen.* 3.399). Cf. Verg. *Georg.* 2.438 *Naryciaeque picis lucos;* Plin. *N. H.* 14.127 *Pix in Italia ad vasa vino condendo maxime probatur Bruttia.*

387. **hamulam**: dim. of *hama*, and apparently ἅπαξ λεγόμενον.

Bacchoue lagoenam: cf. Plin. *N. H.* 19.71 (of the shell of the gourd) *nuper in balnearum usum venere urceorum vice, iam pridem vero etiam cadorum ad vina condenda.*

388. **tum**: = *praeterea.*

pueros fluuiis innare docebit: on other aids for the learner in swimming, cf. Plaut. *Aul.* 595-596 *Quasi pueri qui nare discunt scirpea induitur ratis, | qui laborent minus, facilius ut nent et moveant manus;* Hor. *Serm.* 1.4.121 *nabis sine cortice.*

Liuidus at cucumis, grauida qui nascitur aluo
hirtus et ut coluber nodoso gramine tectus
uentre cubat flexo semper collectus in orbem,
noxius exacuit morbos aestatis iniquae.
Fetidus hic suco, pingui quoque semine fartus.
At qui sub trichila manantem repit ad undam
labentemque sequens nimium tenuatur amore,
candidus, effetae tremebundior ubere porcae,
mollior infuso calathis modo lacte gelato,
dulcis erit, riguoque madescit luteus aruo
et feret auxilium quondam mortalibus aegris.
Cum canis Erigones flagrans Hyperionis aestu
arboreos aperit fetus cumulataque moris

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389 at μ: aut SAa: et R: ac p qui R: que SAd que grauida A 390 hyrtus a colyber SAacμ 391 uente A flexos . . orbes *Heinsius Advers.* 2.282 (*teste Häussner*) 392 noxios **abm** morbus μ 393 suco pingui quoque R: sucoque et pingui SA succo M 394 trichila (trachila **a**) manantem (manentem **bm**) repit R: tricleã anterepit SA ad undam R: anundam SA 395 latentemq; **cd**M nimio R *ed. Ald. Gesner Wernsdorf Schneider* 396 et fetae S: et fete A tremebundio rubore A: (*corr. man. alt.*) S urbe porte M 397 geluo A 398 erit riguque (i *post* u *adscr. man. alt.*) S: eri triguq; A: erit regnoq; **cd** liteus M arbo A: (b *in* u *corr. man. alt.*) S 399 quodam A 400 flagrans *om.* **d** hiperionis **a**M: hiporionis **bcm** *man. alt. in* **d** 401 Arbores M cum | lataque A

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389. **liuidus cucumis:** the cucumber is called *caeruleus* by Propertius (5.2.43) and in *Copa* (22). Cf. Plin. *N. H.* 19.65 *in Italia virides et quam minimi <cucumeres>, in provinciis quam maximi et cerini aut nigri placent. Copiosissimi Africae, grandissimi Moesiae. Cum magnitudine excessere, pepones vocantur.*

390. **coluber nodoso gramine tectus:** cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2.471 *coluber mala gramina pastus.*

392. **noxius exacuit morbos:** Pliny notes the indigestibility of cucumbers, *N. H.* 19.65 *vivunt hausti in stomacho in posterum diem nec perfici queunt in cibis, non insalubres tamen plurimum.*

which grows up rough and swollen in shape and lies hidden like a serpent beneath the tangled grass, its twisting body always gathered in coils, this is hurtful and aggravates the ills of the unkind summer. This is full of fetid juice and is stuffed with fat seeds. But the one which creeps toward the water trickling beneath its arbor and is made uncommonly slender by its seeking, with excessive longing, after the fleeting moisture, this, light of color, flabbier than the udder of a sow with young and softer than newly curdled milk poured in baskets, will become sweet; this ripens to a golden yellow in a well-watered field and will bring relief at times to suffering mortals.

When the dog of Erigone inflamed by Hyperion's heat brings out the fruits of the trees, and the fruit-basket glistening with

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394f. Cf. 11.3.48 *Cucumis et cucurbita, cum copia est aquae, minorem curam desiderant: nam plurimum iuvantur humore;* Pallad. 4.9.7 *longi et teneri fiunt, si aquam in patenti vasculo sub eis ponas, duobus palmis inferiorem, ad quam festinando tales efficientur;* Plin. *N. H.* 19.65-66 *Natura oleum odere mire nec minus aquas diligunt, desecti quoque. Ad eas modice distantes adrepunt, contra oleum refugiunt aut, si quid obstet, vel si pendeant, curvantur intorquenturque. Id vel una nocte deprehenditur, si vas cum aqua subiciatur, a quattuor digitorum intervallo descendentibus ante posterum diem, at si oleum eodem modo sit, in hamos curvatis.*

396. **ubere porcae:** cf. the figurative *ubera campi* of 90.

397. **mollior . . . modo lacte gelato:** cf. Ov. *Met.* 13.796 *Mollior et cygni plumis et lacte coacto;* Mart. 8.64.8 *Vincas mollitia tremente plumas | aut massam modo lactis alligati.*

399. **mortalibus aegris:** cf. Verg. *Georg.* 1.237 *mortalibus aegris.* So Pliny (*N. H.* 19.73) says that gourds of the climbing variety are more healthful.

400. **canis Erigones:** Erigone was the daughter of Icarius. When her father was slain by the Athenians, her dog showed the daughter where the body of her dead parent was lying. Erigone, through grief, hanged herself on Mt. Hymettus. Then, at the request of Bacchus, Erigone and her dog were translated to the heavens—the girl as the constellation Virgo, and the dog as Sirius. Hyg. *Astr.* 2.4; *Fab.* 122, 130, 254.

Hyperionis: Hyperion was the son of one of the Titans and father of Helios, the sun-god.

401. **canis . . . arboreos aperit fetus:** so in Verg. *Georg.* 1.217 *aperit . . . annum Taurus.* Vergil also calls tree-fruits *arborei fetus* (*Georg.* 1.55), and Ovid speaks in the same figurative fashion of mulberries (*Met.* 4.125).

candida sanguineo manat fiscella cruore,
tunc praecox bifera descendit ab arbore ficus
Armeniisque et cereolis prunisque Damasci
stipantur calathi et pomis, quae barbara Persis
miserat, ut fama est, patriis armata uenenis.
At nunc expositi paruo discrimine leti
ambrosios praebent sucos, oblita nocendi.
Quin etiam eiusdem gentis de nomine dicta
exiguo properant mitescere Persica malo.
Tempestiua madent, quae maxima Gallia donat,

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403 bifere SA 404 Armenisque A: Armenusq; bdm 406 ut] et M patris M 407 ad (d *in* t *mut. man. alt.*) SA deposito *maluit Schneider, sed* expositi *scripsit:* ex positis *Housman* (*teste Postgate*) 408 succos dM 410 Persica] praecoqua *Wernsdorf* 411 manent M maxime dμM

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402. **sanguineo manat fiscella cruore:** the juice of the mulberries dyed by the blood of Pyramus and Thisbe (Ov. *Met.* 4.125-127). Cf. *Copa* 21 *mora cruenta;* Prop. 5.2.16 *aestivo mora rubere die.*

403. **praecox bifera . . . ab arbore ficus:** Plin. *N. H.* 16.113-114 *ficus et praecoces habet, quas Athenis prodromos vocant, in Laconico genere maxime sunt. Sunt et biferae in isdem; in Ceo insula caprifici triferae sunt.* Columella names in 5.10.11 ten different kinds of figs, *omnes etiam biferae et triferae flosculi.* Suetonius tells us (*Aug.* 76) that the emperor Augustus was especially fond of fresh figs of the kind that ripen twice a year.

404. **Armeniisque:** sc. *prunis.* Columella names in this verse three members of the plum family, the first being the apricot (*prunus armeniaca*), introduced from Armenia and often called *praecoqua* by the Latins. Dioscorides, 1.165; Colum. 5.10.19, 11.2.96; Plin. *N. H.* 15.41; Pallad. 2.15.20.

cereolis: sc. *prunis.* Vergil's *cerea pruna, Ecl.* 2.53; *Copa* 18. Cf. Ov. *Met.* 13.817-818 *Prunaque, non solum nigro liventia suco,* | *verum etiam generosa novasque imitantia ceras.*

prunisque Damasci: the plums of Damascus in Syria, our Damascene or Damson. Pliny, in naming the trees peculiar to Syria (13.51), says that plums are grown on Mt. Damascus; and elsewhere (15.43) he calls them *Damascena* (cf. Mart. 13.29). Petronius (31) speaks of *pruna Syriaca.*

405. **pomis, quae barbara Persis miserat:** Columella seems to have in mind a kind of fruit called *persea,* described by Theophrastus (*H. P.* 4.2.5) and Pliny (*N. H.* 13.60, but see below) as somewhat similar to the pear in foliage, flowers, and general form, except that the tree was evergreen and

its load of mulberries drips their blood-red juice, then does the early ripe fig fall from the twice-bearing tree; then are baskets heaped with the plums of Armenia, and the wax-colored, and those of Damascus, and with the fruit which barbarous Persis had sent, so the story goes, armed with her native poison. But now with slight chance of effecting the death suggested, they possess an ambrosial flavor, oblivious to their power to harm. And too, the puny fruit of the Persian apples, called by the name of the same nation, hastens to grow mellow. Those of greatest size, which Gaul contributes, ripen in good season; in cold weather

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bore fruit the year around. Confusion long existed between this *persea,* and the *persicum,* 'peach', which was thought to have been poisonous in Persia but to have changed its character when taken to Egypt. Pliny (*N. H.* 15.45-46), following Dioscorides (1.187), rejects this story and gives it to *persea,* which tree, as he says, derived its name from Perseus who planted it at Memphis, and was similar to *myxa* ('sebesten') which bore a small plum-like fruit. Vergil mentions (*Georg.* 2.126) a fruit of somewhat similar character brought from Media, which Martyn takes to be the citron. See also de Candolle, *Origin of Cultivated Plants,* 221-226.

407. **expositi:** this, the reading of all the mss., is regarded by many as corrupt, but no acceptable emendation has been proposed. Postgate prints the word with a dagger. The ms. reading is defended by Wernsdorf, who writes: "Mihi servanda lectio vulgata uidetur, verbaque eius plana sunt. *Discrimen lethi* est periculum mortis e malo Persico metuendae, et *lethum expositum,* frequenti eius verbi usu, est obvium, paratum, facile." The verb *expono* seems to be used here, as often, in the sense of *explico* or *explano,* i. e. to refer to the suggestion of death set forth in what precedes. There may be good reason, however, to regard *expositi* as similar in meaning to Horace's *semoti* in *Carm.* 1.3.32-33 *semotique prius tarda necessitas leti.*

paruo discrimine leti: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 3.685 *leti discrimine parvo,* 9.143 *leti discrimina parva.*

410. **Persica:** sc. *mala.* The 'Persian apple' (peach), a native of China, came to the Mediterranean region through Persia. These are the early-ripe peaches (*Persica praecocia*) of Mart. 13.46. Plin. *N. H.* 15.39-40; Dioscorides, 1.164; de Candolle, *loc. cit.*

411. **madent:** i. e. are filled with juice, grow ripe. This verb, rarely used of the softening or ripening of fruit, is used in the poem to describe sodden ground (46 *madebit*) and, in its inchoative form, of the ripening of the cucumber (398 *madescit*).

frigoribus pigro ueniunt Asiatica fetu.
At grauis Arcturi sub sidere parturit arbos
Liuia, Chalcidicis et Caunis aemula Chiis,
purpureaeque Chelidoniae pinguesque Mariscae
et callistruthis, roseo quae semine ridet,
albaque, quae seruat flauae cognomina cerae,
scissa Libysca simul, picto quoque Lydia tergo.
Quin et Tardipedi sacris iam rite solutis

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412 Frigrib; **A**: (o *suprascr. man. alt.*) **S** pigro **R**: pigri **SAa** assiatica **M** 413 Ad **S**: (t *suprascr. man. alt.*) **A** arturi subscidere **M** sydere **c** 414 Luna **c** calchi dicis **S**: chalchidicis **A**: calcidicis **cdM** cannis **a**: canis **bm**: caumis *μ*: cãnis emilia chiis **M** 415 purpure quæ **SA** cheliodoniae **S**: (i *supra alt.* o *scr. man. alt.*) **A**: calidonie **M** 416 *et* 417 *om* **a** 416 callistruithis **SA**: callisthrutis **bm**: callis cruitis **cd**: callischrutis *μ***q**: calliscrutis **M** 417 flaua **A** cera **A** 418 lybisca **SAadq**: libisca **bcmsM**: Libyssa *Schneider* lidia **bcdm** 419 salutis **A**

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maxima: taken by Schoettgen as a modifier of Gallia, i. e. Transalpine Gaul, but interpreted by most commentators as belonging rather with *quae* and referring to the size of the fruit in Gaul. Pliny (*N. H.* 15.39-40) speaks of the Gallic and Asiatic varieties of peaches as ripening late in autumn, while the early-ripe (*Persica* <*praecocia* >, 410) ripen in the summer.

412. **frigoribus:** in cold weather, as in 5.10.9 *ficum frigoribus ne serito.*

413. **grauis Arcturi sub sidere:** Arcturus, the brightest star in Boötes, whose rising and setting was supposed to portend stormy weather; hence it was much dreaded by the ancients. For numerous examples of this belief, see E. S. McCartney, "The Classical Astral Weather Chart for Rustics and for Seamen," *C. W.* 20.48-49.

parturit arbos: so Verg. *Ecl.* 3.56 *nunc omnis parturit arbos,* and cf. 10 with note.

414. **arbos Liuia:** a kind of fig tree, *ficus Liviana* of 5.10.11. Columella now mentions ten different varieties of figs, most of which he names elsewhere (*loc. cit.*) The first, *arbos Livia*, is perhaps an allusion to the story related by Cassius Dio (56.30) that Livia smeared with poison some figs still on the trees from which Augustus was accustomed to gather and eat the fruits.

Caunis: best taken as equivalent to *Cauneis* (sc. *ficis*), as Harper's Lexicon defines it. Some write *caunis,* taking the word as a general term here equivalent to *ficis*. Others would have a nominative *Caunias* on the analogy of

comes the Asiatic variety with its tardy fruit. But under the sign of oppressive Arcturus does the tree of Livia give forth its yield, rivalling the Chalcidian and Caunian and Chian; and the Chelidonian of purple hue, the juicy marisca, the sparrow-fig resplendent with its rose-colored seeds, and the white one which bears the name of yellow wax, the cleft Libyan also, and the Lydian with its mottled skin. Moreover, when fitting sacrifices

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bryonias (250) and *bunias* (422). Caunus, a city of Caria, was noted for its dried figs, on which cf. Cicero's well-known story (*Div.* 2.84): *Cum M. Crassus exercitum Brundisii imponeret, quidam in portu caricas Cauno advectas vendens 'Cauneas' clamitabat. Dicamus, si placet, monitum ab eo Crassum, caveret ne iret: non fuisse periturum, si omini paruisset.* Pliny also alludes to the story in his description of the Caunian fig (*N. H.* 15.83).

Chiis: Chios, an island of the Aegean Sea, was famous for its figs. Varro (*Rust.* 1.41.6) tells us that they had been transplanted into Italy. Martial says that the Chian fig was pungent (7.25.8) and juicy (13.23).

415. **Chelidoniae:** the figs of the 'Swallow (χελιδών) Islands,' off the coast of Lycia. Pliny (15.71) says that they ripen at the beginning of winter.

mariscae: named also by Cato (*Agr.* 8.1) and Pliny (*N.H.* 15.72). Martial (7.25.7) calls them *mariscas fatuas* (cf. μωρός) because of their insipid, flat taste.

416. **callistruthis:** nom. case. A favorite food of the sparrow, στρουθός, Plin. *N. H.* 15.69.

417. **albaque:** Pliny's *albicerata* (*N. H.* 15.70).

418. **Libysca:** usually called *ficus Africana* by prose writers. Martial has *Libycae fici* (7.53.8).

picto Lydia tergo: named by Varro (*Rust.* 1.41.6), with Chian, Chalcidian, and African figs, as imported into Italy from across the seas. Pliny (*N. H.* 15.69) describes the Lydian figs as *purpureae* and similar to the Chian variety. *Tergo* = *corio*, as often. Vergil (*Georg.* 2.271) speaks of a tree's *terga*, and Valerius Flaccus (8.111) of its *dorsum.*

419. **Tardipedi:** a poetic epithet of Vulcan; cf. Catull. 36.7 *tardipedi deo.* His Greek counterpart, Hephaestus, is sometimes called Ἀμφιγυήεις (e. g. Hesiod, *Theog.* 571, 579, 945). The cause of the god's lameness is related in the *Iliad* (1.586ff.) and by Valerius Flaccus (2.82f.). Columella here refers to the Vulcanalia, a festival celebrated on Aug. 23rd, at about which time the new grain would be in the barns and in danger from fire.

nube noua seritur caeli pendentibus undis
gongylis, inlustri mittit quam Nursia campo,
quaeque Amiterninis defertur bunias aruis.
  Sed iam maturis nos flagitat anxius uuis
Euchios excultosque iubet claudamus ut hortos.
Claudimus imperioque tuo paremus agrestes
ac metimus laeti tua munera, dulcis Iacche,
inter lasciuos Satyros Panasque biformes
brachia iactantes uetulo marcentia uino.

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420 Nube nob aseritur (u *supra* b *scr. man. alt.*) S pedentibus A: (n *adscr. m. alt.*) S 421 congili A: (*pr.* i *in* y *mut. m. alt.*) S: gongilis μ: congilis R illustri **abm**M Nursia] in ursia A: mursia **aq** 422 amitterninis **bms**: amiterucius M biuias artus M 423 uos M anxius SR: anuxius Aμ: ansius **c** 424 Euthois **a** claudiamus (i *eras.*) S 426 leti tua R: letitia A: letita (*ut vid.*; ta *in* jã *mut. man. alt.*) S iache **a**: iacchi M 427 latinos (*supra* ti *postea* sc *scr.*) A satiros M panasque SR: pansasque A: partasq; **cd** 428 bracchia A uentulo M

419-422. With the general thought cf. 11.3.18 *Caeterum Augusto circa Vulcanalia tertia satio est: eaque optima radicis et rapae, itemque napi et siseris, nec minus oleris atri.*

420. **nube noua:** a second sowing, scattered broadcast in a 'cloud' of seed. Cf. 11.3.59 *Napus et rapa duas sationes habent . . . melior est tamen satio mense Augusti.* The first sowing was made in the latter part of February. Cf. *id.* 47 *Raphani radix bis anno recte seritur, Februario mense, cum vernum fructum expectamus, et Augusto mense circa Vulcanalia, cum maturum; id.* 2.10.21f.

caeli pendentibus undis: so in the *Georgics* (1.214) flax and the poppy are to be sown *dum sicca tellure licet, dum nubila pendent.* Cf. Lucr. 2.152 *aerias . . . undas.*

421. **gongylis:** a transliteration of Gk. γογγυλίς (=Lat. *rapum*), apparently not found elsewhere among Latin writers. The plant was used as a fodder crop as well as for human consumption (2.10.22).

Nursia: a town of the Sabines. Its turnips are mentioned by Martial (13.20), and by Pliny, who says (*N. H.* 18.130) that they were most esteemed for their size and sweetness.

have been made to the slow-footed god and when billows hang aloft in the heavens, then is thickly sown anew the turnip which Nursia sends from her far-famed fields and the navew which is brought from the plowlands of Amiternum.

But now that the grapes are ripe Euhius anxiously entreats us and bids us bring the cultivation of our gardens to a close. We rustics do so, obeying thy commands, and joyfully we harvest thy gifts, dear Iacchus, amid the wanton Satyrs and the two-formed Pans, tossing arms enfeebled by old wine. And we

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mittit quam Nursia: note the verbal resemblance to Verg. *Aen.* 7.715 *quos frigida misit Nursia.*

422. **bunias:** *βουνιάς = napus.* Closely allied to the turnip (*rapum*); Plin. *N. H.* 20.21. Columella (2.10.23), followed by Palladius (8.2.2), tells us that *napus* likes a light and dry soil and a sloping situation, while *rapum* thrives in marshy land; and that the natures of the two may be interchanged in two years' time by an exchange of habitat.

Amiterninis . . . aruis: Amiternum, a town in the Sabine country, ranked first in the production of turnips, and Nursia came second (Plin. *N. H.* 19.77).

423. **Sed iam maturis . . . uuis:** the verse bears some verbal similarity to Verg. *Georg.* 2.419 *et iam maturis metuendus Iuppiter uvis.* Cf. Ov. *Rem.* 189-190 *Temporibus certis maturam rusticus uvam | deligit, et nudo sub pede musta fluunt.*

424. The time of the grape harvest is at hand, and all other work must be suspended. Wernsdorf points out that Columella ends his task, as he began it (cf. 41f.), with the autumnal equinox.

425. **imperioque tuo paremus:** cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4.577 *imperioque iterum paremus ovantes.*

426. **tua munera, dulcis Iacche:** cf. Verg. *Georg.* 5.526 *Massica Bacchi munera;* Hor. *Carm.* 4.15.26 *inter iocosi munera Liberi.* On the orthography of *Iacche*, see 235, note.

426-428. Perhaps a reference to the Vinalia Rustica, a festival celebrated Aug. 19th.

427. **Panasque biformes:** the god Pan, often made into a plurality, was a woodland deity represented as having the legs, and sometimes also the ears and horns, of a goat. Cf. Ov. *Met.* 14.515 *semicaper Pan.*

428. **brachia . . . marcentia:** cf. Mart. 5.78.12 *Marcentes tibi porrigentur uvae.*

Et te Maenalium, te Bacchum teque Lyaeum
Lenaeumque patrem canimus sub tecta uocantes,
ferueat ut lacus et multo completa Falerno
exundent pingui spumantia dolia musto.

Hactenus hortorum cultus, Siluine, docebam
siderei uatis referens praecepta Maronis,
qui primus ueteres ausus recludere fontis
Ascraeum cecinit Romana per oppida carmen.

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429 baccũ **SA**: bachum **M** 430 Leneq; (vm *suprascr. man. alt.*) **A** partẽ **A** caminus **M** uacantes (*pr.* a *in* o *mut. man. alt.*) **S** 431 multo **R**: musto **SAμM** *Lundström* completo **A** 432 spomantia **a** 433 agrorũ **Abcmq**: (*in marg.*)**d**: (hortorum *suprascr. man. alt.*) **S**: aruorum **adM** *ed. Ald. Gesner Wernsdorf* 434 sideie **SA**: syderei **c** marinis **A** 436 Ascreum cecinit Romana qui oppida carme **M** recinit **a** oppida tamen **a**: oppidam (m *postea exp.*)μ

L. iuni moderati columel | lę rei rusticę cepuricus | de cultu hortorum | liber undecimus explicit *rubr. litt. unc.* **S**: lib̄ iuni moderati columelle rei rustice cepuricus de cultu hortorum liber XI exp̄l *rubr. litt.* **A**: Iunii moderati columellae rei rusticae cepuricus de cultu hortorũ . liber . decimus explicit *maiusc. litt. rubr.* **m**: L. Iuni Moderati Columellae Rei Rusticae Cepuricus de cultu hortorum liber XI explicit feliciter μ: *vulgo om.* **R**

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429. **Maenalium:** Maenalus was a range of mountains in Arcadia, sacred to Pan, and famed for the celebration of Bacchic orgies.

Lyaeus: a common epithet of Bacchus as the god who frees men from cares, e. g. Verg. *Aen.* 4.58; Ov. *Am.* 3.15.17; *Met.* 4.11, 8.274, 11.67.

430. **Lenaeum patrem:** an epithet of Bacchus as god of the wine-press (ληνός), e. g. Verg. *Georg.* 2.7, 2.529; Ov. *Met.* 4.14, 11.132.

431. **multo:** the weight of ms. testimony is for *musto*, but editors, with the important exception of Lundström, prefer the reading of the late mss. Either reading is possible, but the latter seems to have the greater probability in that *musto* in the line following must stand, and Columella studiously avoids such close and unemphatic repetition.

Falerno: the wine of the Falernus Ager, in Campania, is praised by Roman writers as surpassing in quality all other native brands (e. g. Hor. *Carm.* 1.20.10, 2.3.8, *et al.*; Verg. *Georg.* 2.94; Prop. 5.6.73; Plin. *N. H.* 14.62). Here, however, the word is used as a general term for good wine.

431-432. With the general thought we may compare Verg. *Georg.* 1.295-296

sing of thee as Maenalius, of thee as Bacchus, of thee as Lyaeus and father Lenaeus, calling thee to our homes that the vats may seethe and that the jars filled with copious Falernian may foam and overflow with the sweet new wine.

Thus far, Silvinus, do I teach the cultivation of gardens, carrying out the precepts of the divine poet Maro, who first daring to unseal the ancient springs, sang the song of Ascra through Roman towns.

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aut dulcis musti Volcano decoquit umorem, | *et foliis undam trepidi despumat aheni;* *id.* 2.6 *spumat plenis vindemia labris;* Calp. *Ecl.* 1.3 *et spumant rauco ferventia musta susurro.*

432. **pingui . . . musto:** cf. 44 *musto spumantis exprimet uuas;* Tib. 1.1.10 *pleno pinguia musta lacu;* Pallad. 14.50 (metaphorically of the vine) *et pingui curuat onusta deo.*

433. Cf. the opening line of the poem: *Hortorum quoque te cultus, Siluine, docebo.*

Hactenus hortorum cultus: *hactenus* was a favorite expression of our author, possibly borrowed from Vergil, and was used at the beginnings or ends of several of his books; e. g. 3.1.1 *Hactenus aruorum cultus, ut ait praestantissimus poeta* (cf. Verg. *Georg.* 2.1), and in the closing words of Bks. 5, 7, and 9. The reading *hactenus aruorum cultus* of some mss., and adopted by several editors, was doubtless due to a scribal recollection of Verg. *Georg.* 2.1 *Hactenus arvorum cultus*, or of the closing lines of the *Georgics* beginning *Haec super arvorum cultu* (4.559).

docebam: the choice of tense, perhaps best regarded as the epistolary imperfect, seems to have been influenced by Verg. *Georg.* 4.559 *Haec super arvorum cultu pecorumque canebam.* Cf. Hor. *Epist.* 1.10.49 *Haec tibi dictabam post fanum putre Vacunae.*

434. **referens praecepta:** cf. Verg. *Georg.* 1.176 *Possum multa tibi veterum praecepta referre.*

435-436. **Ascraeum . . . carmen:** the *Works and Days* of Hesiod, born at Ascra—"a miserable hamlet near Helicon, bad in winter, sultry in summer, and good at no time." (*Works and Days* 638-639, Loeb. tr.).

Columella fittingly closes his poem with a quotation from his model, *Georg.* 2.175-176

sanctos ausus recludere fontis,
Ascraeumque cano Romana per oppida carmen.

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